A TRANSLATION OF THE MEMOIRS OF ERADUT KHAN, A NOBLEMAN OF HINDOSTAN,

CONTAINING

INTERESTING ANECDOTES

OF THE

EMPEROR AULUMGEER AURUNGZEBE,

AND OF HIS SUCCESSORS,

SHAW AULUM AND JEHAUNDAR SHAW;

IN WHICH ARE DISPLAYED

THE CAUSES OF THE VERY PRECIPITATE DECLINE

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE IN INDIA.

BY JONATHAN SCOTT,

CAPTAIN IN THE SERVICE OF THE HONOURABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY,
AND PRIVATE PERSIAN TRANSLATOR TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQUIRE,
LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL, &c. &c. &c.

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MDCCLXXXVI.

TO

WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

SIR,

PERMIT me to dedicate this Tranflation to you, who fo amply patronized my attempts to make myfelf ufeful to my honourable employers, when in India. The diftinction you were pleafed to confer upon me, by an appointment in your family, and the favour of your friendfhip, I fhall ever regard as honours of which I may reafonably boaft: and I truft a time will come, when far more important pages than mine will acquire merit with the nation, from being adorned with the name of HASTINGS.

I am, SIR,

Your moft obedient

And grateful humble fervant,

LONDON,
12th May, 1786.

JONATHAN SCOTT.

ERRATA.

Page

29, line 20, *for* meſſuage, *read* meſſage.

30, line 24, *for* Raujepoet, *read* Raujpoot.

51, line 2, in the notes, *for* mizid, *read* muzjid.

52, line 10, *for* Bahadar, *read* Bahadur.

54, line 2, *for* Soubadacy, *read* Soubadary.

83, in the notes, *for* Yemmum, *read* Yemmun.

89, line 8, *and* 22, *for* Downan, *and* Dowran, *read* Dowraun.

PREFACE.

ENcouraged by the generous attention of my honourable maſters, the Eaſt-India Company, and of their repreſentatives in Bengal, to every ſpecies of uſeful information from their ſervants, I was induced, during my reſidence in India, to ſtudy the languages and hiſtory of the country, with a view of recommending myſelf to their notice and favour. I alſo cheriſhed the hope of laying up a fund of amuſement from theſe ſtudies for the hours of retirement, ſhould I be ſo fortunate as to reviſit my native country: nor was I without the ambition, of being able to add ſomewhat to the ſtore of public information reſpecting the extenſive empire of Hindoſtan, of which Great-Britain poſſeſſes ſo large a ſhare. Rewarded by the accompliſhment of my two firſt objects, I am now led to try the merit of the laſt.

The Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, from the earlieſt Mahummedan conqueſts to the year 1669 of our æra, has been already preſented to the public by the late Colonel Dow, who, had he lived, would in all probability have continued

it down to the preſent day; but, unfortunately, his work concludes at a period, when the affairs of Hindoſtan were becoming moſt intereſting to European curioſity. I mean the 11th year of Aulumgeer, commonly called Aurungzebe, the events of whoſe reign, and thoſe of his ſucceſſors, are to us more important, as nearer to our own times.

The celebrated Mr. Orme, when writing of this period in his Hiſtorical Fragments of Hindoſtan, regrets the want of information regarding it, and juſtly obſerves, "the "knowledge is well worth the enquiry; for, beſides the "magnitude of the events, and the energy of the cha-"racters, which ariſe in this period, there are no ſtates "or powers on the continent of India, with whom our "nation have either connexion or concern, who do not "owe their preſent condition to the reign of Aurungzebe, "or to its influence on the reigns of its ſucceſſors."

It is the Hiſtory of Dekkan, and the above-mentioned very important period, with which, if the following Tranſlation is approved, I hope ſhortly to preſent the public. Of materials I have no want, but muſt confeſs myſelf unwilling to labour in their arrangement, without ſome proſpect of ſuch a taſk's proving acceptable. On this account, I have judged it prudent to offer firſt a ſpecimen of my work, that, if unworthy of the public eye, I may keep the remainder of it in that privacy I ſhall then think

it

it only fit for, and save myself the pain of disappointed expectation.

The following Memoir is translated from the Persic of Eradut Khan, a nobleman of the court of Aulumgeer. The authenticity of the facts he relates is undoubted in Hindostan, and the simplicity of his style regarded as a strong proof of his veracity. I have studiously endeavoured to make him write English, in the same unaffected and plain manner that he has his native tongue; being more anxious for the fidelity of my translation, than desirous of praise for composition.

It now remains only to give a short introduction to the subject of my author. It is generally known, that the Emperor Aulumgeer reigned fifty years over Hindostan, and extended his empire, before too vast to be secure, over the southern peninsula of India, called Dekkan, in the reduction of which he spent the last five-and-twenty years of his life. In this period, he reduced the monarchies of Golconda and Beejapore; but though he could conquer enervated kings, he could not subdue the minds of their uncorrupted subjects. His zeal for the Mahummedan religion, led him to deprive the Hindoo princes of those indulgences which his less bigotted ancestors had allowed them: he destroyed their temples, and disgraced them by a capitation-tax. This tyranny weakened the affections of the

ancient vaſſals of the houſe of Timur, and raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of reſiſtance in the hardy natives of Dekkan that could never be effectually ſubdued. Sewajee and his ſucceſſors, the Mharatta chiefs, though they could not wholly withſtand the Imperial arms, yet ſo harraſſed Aulumgeer by their predatory incurſions, as to render his victories of no advantage. The treaſures of the old provinces were diſſipated in half-conqueſts of new territory, and the emperor's long abſence from his hereditary dominions, occaſioned a univerſal weakneſs in the powers of government. The nobility and army, tired with nearly thirty years of conſtant war, were grown remiſs, and anxious for repoſe in the luxurious pleaſures of Dhely and Agra. Aurungzebe's three ſons, ambitious of empire, waited only the death of their father, to fight againſt each other for the important prize. Thus every circumſtance combined to bring on the decline of the Mogul empire, and involve it in the miſeries related by Eradut Khan, whom I ſhall now leave to ſpeak for himſelf.

ORIGINAL

PREFACE.

THUS sayeth the compiler of these records and events, an humble and sinful slave, [1] Moobaric Oollah [2] Eradut Khan [3] Wazeh, son of the [4] sheltered in mercy, [5] Keffaiut Khan, writer of the [6] Shekest: When I had finished the [7] Kulmaut Aleeaut, it entered my mind to draw up a concise relation of what events had happened to myself, while I was composing that work.

[1] Anglicè, Blessed of God.

[2] The author's title of nobility, signifying The Faithful Lord.

[3] *His poetical name, by which he chose to signify himself in his poems;* Anglicè, Clear. Eastern authors always use one.

[4] The Mussulmauns, when mentioning a deceased person, never say such a one who is dead, but such a one sheltered in mercy, received in pardon, or some similar expression. When mentioning a deceased prince, they say the prince whose seat is in Paradise.

[5] Anglicè, The serviceable.

[6] The broken hand, generally used in business.

[7] Anglicè, Sublime Discourses. This work I never could obtain, though I made strict enquiry after it.

I have obſerved, that delightful ſcenes, and the ſociety of friends, are not ſo ſtriking at the time of enjoyment, as afterwards, when reflected in the mirror of recollection. On this account, I write down moſt paſſing occurrences; and whenever I peruſe them, or ruminate upon them, a particular feeling, a ſurpriſing pleaſure and aſtoniſhing extaſy, prevail in my mind. My writings alſo ſerve as a memorial to my friends.

During the ſhort period of my age, which has this day arrived at the ſixty-fourth year, and the 1126th of the holy
A.C. 1715. Hijhera, ſuch wonders of time, ſuch aſtoniſhing marks of the power of the Creator of night and day in the viciſſitudes of worldly affairs, the deſtruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houſes and noble families, the fall of worthy men, and riſe of the unworthy, have been beheld by me, as have not been mentioned by hiſtory to have occurred, in ſuch number or ſucceſſion, in a thouſand years.

As, on account of my office, and being engaged in theſe tranſactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the ſources of moſt events, and what, to others, even information of muſt be difficult, was planned and executed in my ſight; and as I was a ſharer, as well as ſpectator,

of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them.

My intention, however, not being to compile a hiſtory of kings, or a flowery work, but only to relate ſuch events as happened within my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a diſplay of learning in lofty phraſes and pompous metaphors, choſen a plain ſtyle, ſuch as a friend, writing to a friend, would uſe for the purpoſe of information. Indeed, if propriety is conſulted, loftineſs of ſtyle is unfit for plain truth, which, pure in itſelf, requires only a ſimple delineation. I hope, therefore, that my readers will not looſen the reins of impartiality from their hands, nor call my modeſty, ignorance.

TO THE

READER.

IT will be neceſſary to remember, that Aurungzebe is the ſame perſon with Aulumgeer. He took the latter title on his acceſſion to the throne, agreeable to the cuſtom of the eaſtern princes, who always aſſume a new one on that occaſion.

It is hoped that the number of notes will not prove tedious, nor perplex the reader's attention. Some, perhaps, may appear trivial to thoſe whoſe local knowledge renders ſuch aſſiſtance, to them, unneceſſary; but, as their number is comparatively very ſmall with thoſe who require it, the tranſlator requeſts the indulgence of the few, in compliment to the many.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE,

BY

ERADUT KHAN WAZEH.

I SHALL begin my narration from the time of my removal from the command of the fortreſs of [1] Imteeauz Gur. For the duties of that office I had entertained numerous followers, a tenth of a tenth of whom, the ſuddenneſs of my recall rendered me incapable of paying, but, as my life was yet to remain, I made my [2] eſcape from among them in the beſt manner I could, with my family

On account of my diſtreſſed circumſtances, and the great diſtance of my late command from the Imperial camp, in order that I

[1] An important fortreſs in Dekkan, or the ſouthern part of Hindoſtan It is called Oodneh by the Hindoos, and is now in poſſeſſion of the Mharattas, who retook it ſoon after the death of the Emperor Aulumgeer

[2] To be obliged to fly from their own troops, is frequently the caſe with the nobles of Hindoſtan, on recall from office, or other emergency, as they generally keep up more than they can pay with regularity

B might

might take ſome repoſe, his majeſty had conferred upon me the government of [1]Ahſſunabad Koolburgah, where I remained one month; and then, leaving my deareſt ſon, [2]Huddaiut Oolla, as my deputy in that ſtation, I proceeded with a few followers to the [3]Stirrup. I had the honour of an audience in [4]Pargur, while his majeſty was engaged in the reduction of [5]Kundaneh. He ſhewed me much favour, nor had any change taken place in his eſteem and regard towards me. I was ſtationed, during the ſiege, four coſs diſtant from the camp, on the only road of communication then left, as I had been ſucceſsfully employed on the like ſervice, ſince the commencement of the reduction of Dekkan, at [6]Beejapore, [7]Hyderabad, and other places. Though the enemy now was very numerous, and plundered even to the ſkirts of the camp, yet, by the divine aſſiſtance, I maintained my poſt with a very trifling force. For this ſervice, I was honoured with much applauſe by his majeſty, and my reputation with the public became high. Additional rank was alſo conferred, as a reward, on my deareſt ſon, and other relations, at Koolburgah.

[1] A city, formerly the capital of the Bhamenee ſovereigns of Dekkan, Feriſhta's Hiſtory of whom, and the ſucceeding Dynaſties, has been tranſlated, and will one day be offered to the public, ſhould their approbation await this attempt. It is now of little note, and in poſſeſſion of the Nizam.

[2] Anglicè, directed by God.

[3] Meaning the emperor's perſon, when travelling.

[4] A fortreſs in Dekkin.

[5] Another in ditto.

[6] Once the capital of the *Adil Shawee Sultans of Dekkan*, and celebrated for its magnificence. It was reduced by Aulumgeer, with all the dependencies, except what the famous Mharatta chief, Sewajee, who was a rebellious vaſſal of this monarchy, had wreſted from it. It is now ruined, and in poſſeſſion of the Mharattas. Europeans have generally written it Viſiapour, but the Muſſulmauns as above.

[7] This city was the capital of Golconda and Koottub Shawee ſultans, the laſt of whom was taken priſoner by Aulumgeer, and his kingdom reduced. It is now one of the capitals of the Nizam, who is however obliged to ſhare the revenues with the Mharattas.

After

After the reduction of [1] Kundaneh and [2] Raujegur, the emperor moved to another quarter. He had desired several of the principal nobility to accept the command of the latter, as it was of importance, and but newly conquered; but it being a post only of difficulty, they had all requested to be excused. One evening therefore he sent for me, and my son [3] Moraud Khan, and when I had entered the presence, said, "I wish to send thee to Raujegur, art "thou willing to go?" I replied, that his slave was ready, upon which he gave me part of the coffee before him, and ordered that, having drank it in the [4] Aubdar Khauneh, I should come back, and receive my dismission. When I returned to the presence, his majesty gave me his blessing, two hundred mhors, and one coin weighing one hundred [5] mhors, with two horses to me and my son, and five for my bretheren. Two hundred bullock loads of grain were also ordered with me; and the following day, after morning prayer, I departed. At taking leave, his majesty promised that I should be relieved before the rainy season, then about two months distant.

By the auspices of the divine blessing, I arrived in safety at my station in eight days, and remained there forty; during which, from the solitude and romantic situation of the place, my leisure passed in pleasingly enthusiastic contemplation. [6] Munsoor Khan was then

[1] A fortress in Dekkan.

[2] Another in ditto.

[3] Anglicè, object of desire.

[4] The place in which water, sherbets, &c. are cooled in ice or falpetre.

[5] Golden coins, of this and greater weight, were often given as marks of favour. Silver coins, of several hundred rupees value, were also in use; and there is one of them now in the British Museum, of which the ingenious Mr. Richardson has given a very full description, in his very learned work, the Persian and Arabic Dictionary.

[6] Victorious. It is, perhaps, not yet quite unnecessary to mention, that every proper name or title of persons, in the Persian, and frequently in the Hindoo Language,

is

then ſent to relieve me, and his majeſty wrote with his own hand on the firmaun of recall, that, agreeably to his promiſe, he commanded me to the preſence; to which were added many gracious aſſurances of favour. I left Raujegur with the ſame force I had come; but as it was a great diſtance from the camp, and parties of the enemy were hovering abroad, at ſeveral places I was much preſſed. On my arrival at the preſence, I was received with great favour.

Being now again in the ſame ſituation as when I quitted Imteeauz Gur, (for my jagheer had been ruined by various depredations,) I was much diſtreſſed in my affairs, when his majeſty, who was informed of every thing public and private, ſent [1] Ameer Khan to me with a meſſage, importing, that, as diſtreſs had invaded my affairs, I had better ſeek a little repoſe in ſome ſettled office, and that he would confer upon me the [2] Kelladaree and [3] Fojedaree of [4] Mandou, then held by [5] Nowazuſh Khan, who, though an ameer of three thouſand, was unequal to the poſt.

My attachment and regard to his majeſty were ſo great, that, obſerving his life verging to the cloſe, I did not wiſh to quit the

is an epithet deſcriptive of ſome quality in them on whom it is conferred, or the donor ſuppoſes them to poſſeſs: but, of late years, titles of honour are become ſo common, as to loſe their reſpect; and there are many victorious lords of Hindoſtan, who never ſaw a battle, or drew a ſword againſt an enemy.

[1] Noble.

[2] Command of a garriſon.

[3] Military authority in a diſtrict, under which are the criminal courts of juſtice.

[4] A very extenſive fortreſs in the province of Malwa; of which it was the capital under the Patan ſovereigns. It is now much decayed, and in poſſeſſion of the Mharattas.

[5] Poſſeſſing affability.

preſence,

presence, fearful of never beholding him more, and therefore declined the offer; but, when my son and the women of my family heard of the refusal, they became immersed in grief, for the Soubah of Malwa was to them dear as their native place. The disappointment of my son was such, that he privately resolved to give up the service, and leave me; and my whole family were heartless and in despair. At length, overcome by their situation, and indeed they had justice on their side, I, in spite of my own grief, said to my son, " The power is in thy hands; I resign myself as a ransom for " thy happiness." The soul of my life went the same evening to Ameer Khan, and informed him of my acceptance of this office. As that minister was pleased with my consenting on many accounts, he represented it to the emperor the same night, when the affair was settled. Alas! how can I express what passed within my own breast? The following morning, at the [1] assembly of justice, his majesty bestowed upon me a horse and [2] khelaut, and the same upon my son and grandson. It was also allowed me, at my particular request, to come daily to pay my respects at the presence, till the grants of my new office could be prepared; and though my posts of [3] Meer Tozuk and [4] Darogah of the Dekkan cavalry were given to others, yet, from his majesty's gracious favor, I was permitted to exercise the duties of them till I left the camp.

[1] It was a custom of the Mogul emperors to sit daily once, for the purpose of hearing and redressing the complaints of the people, and often twice; but this noble usage was discontinued by the successors of Aulumgeer, which tended greatly to lose them the respect of their subjects.

[2] An honorary dress given always to persons entering into office, and frequently by a superior to an inferior, as a mark of esteem. It is varied, in richness of materials, and number of garments, according to the rank of the receiver.

[3] A marshal, whose business it is to preserve order in a procession, or line of march, and to report absentees.

[4] Superintendant, who examines the number of men and horses, to check false musters.

On

On the evening before my departure, the emperor opening the window of his ſleeping apartment, called me to him, and ſaid, "Abſence now takes place between us, and our meeting again is "uncertain. Forgive, then, whatever willingly, or unwillingly, "I may have done againſt thee, and pronounce the words, *I* "*forgive!* three times, with ſincerity of heart. As thou haſt "ſerved me long, I alſo forgive thee whatever knowingly, or other-"wiſe, thou mayeſt have done againſt me." Upon hearing theſe expreſſions, my ſobs became like a knot in my throat, ſo that I had not power to ſpeak. At laſt, after his majeſty had repeatedly preſſed me, I made ſhift to pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy ſobs. He ſhed many tears, repeated the words, and, after bleſſing me, ordered me to retire. Sorrow lay ſo heavy upon my mind, that, upon my arrival at [1] Aurungabad, I was ſeized with a violent illneſs; but, as my borrowed life was not yet required, the ſoul and body did not ſeparate. Until my arrival at Mandou, I was unable to move, without help, from my bed to my ſeat. My ſon remained in the fort with me only one night, and then departed for his command at [2] Koterree Perrayeh. I remained one year immerſed in the ſame grief and ſorrow.

The prince Mahummud [3] Bedar Bukht being appointed to the government of Malwa, I paid my reſpects to him at [4] Oojein. In

[1] A conſiderable city, founded by Aulumgeer before his acceſſion to the throne, near the celebrated fortreſs of Dowlutabad in Dekkan. He named it Khojeſteh Boonniaud, or The Happy Manſion; but the people called it Aurungabad, in compliment to his title of Aurungzebe, by which Aulumgeer was diſtinguiſhed before he ſeized the empire.

[2] A diſtrict in Malwa.

[3] Signifying wakeful ſtar, or propitious fortune. He was the eldeſt ſon of Azim Shaw.

[4] Suppoſed to be one of the oldeſt cities in India, and is at preſent the capital of Malwa, and of Mahajee Sindia, a principal Mharatta chief.

a ſhort

a ſhort time, ſuch a friendſhip grew between us, that a greater between a prince and ſubject cannot be conceived. He would not be an inſtant without me: he would not eat of any thing, but he ſent me part of it: he did nothing of importance without aſking my advice, and conſidered my opinion as religiouſly deciſive. In ſhort, the particulars of his favour are beyond relation; but, on this account, I became envied by all his dependants.

Soon after this, the illuſtrious prince Mahummud [1] Azim Shaw, *coming from Guzarat to viſit the emperor, paſſed through Malwa,* on his route to [2] Ahmednuggur. From the favour he had beheld me in with his father, my attention to himſelf, and the unbounded praiſes of his ſon Bedar Bukht, he behaved to me in ſuch a gracious manner, as to relate would occaſion prolixity. When he had gone through Malwa, the government of Guzarat was conferred on Bedar Bukht, who departed for that province, and took me with him as far as the frontiers, beyond which I dared not paſs without leave from the emperor. How ſhall I expreſs his manner of parting? He made me promiſe to write him weekly, and ſaid, that he would favour me as often with letters under his own hand, including every important occurrence, in order to have the benefit of my advice for his conduct. This ſort of correſpondence was kept up between us regularly, till the life of his majeſty ſhadow [3] of God arrived at an end. I muſt now relate ſome particulars of that important event [4].

The

[1] Signifying great king. He was the third by birth, but ſecond ſurviving ſon of Aulumgeer.

[2] A conſiderable city of Dekkan, once the capital of the Nizam Shawee ſultans, reduced to the Mogul yoke under Shaw Jehaun, but now under the Mharattas.

[3] An epithet common to majeſty, with all the orientals

[4] It may not be amiſs to inſert here two letters written by Aulumgeer to his ſons, Azim Shaw and Kaum Bukſh, a few days before his death.

To

The emperor, a few days before his death, with a ſtrictneſs of command ſeldom to be enforced by monarchs at ſuch a ſeaſon, diſpatched

To SHAW AZIM SHAW.

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakneſs ſubdues me, and ſtrength has forſaken all my members. I came a ſtranger into this world, and a ſtranger I depart. I know nothing of myſelf, what I am, and for what I am deſtined. The inſtant which paſſed in power, hath left only ſorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been paſſed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conſcience,) but his glorious light was unſeen by my dim ſight. Life is not laſting; there is no veſtige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are loſt. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but ſkin and bone. My ſon, (Kaum Bukſh,) though gone towards Beejapore, is ſtill *near*; and thou, my ſon, art yet nearer. The worthy of eſteem, Shaw Aulum, is far diſtant; and my grandſon, (Azeem Ooſhaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived *near Hindoſtan*. The camp and followers, helpleſs and alarmed, are, like myſelf, full of affliction, reſtleſs as the quickſilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a maſter or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my ſalvation, and with what torments I may be puniſhed. Though I have ſtrong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my veſſel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my ſons are indiſpenſably incumbent. Give my laſt prayers to my grandſon, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot ſee, but the deſire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The fooliſh thoughts of women produce nothing but diſappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince KAUM BUKSH.

MY ſon, neareſt to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permiſſion, I gave you advice, and took with you the greateſt pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a ſtranger, and lament my own inſignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my ſins and imperfections. Surprizing Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deſerted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. Wherever I look, I ſee nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myſelf. My back is bent with weakneſs, and my feet have loſt the powers of motion. The

dispatched the prince Azim Shaw towards Malwa, and Kaum Buksh to his government of Beejapore. His reason for this proceeding was, that no feuds might arise upon his death, in an enemy's country, between his sons, to endanger the repose of his subjects. Had the two princes remained together in the camp, such would have been the case, as occurred afterwards on the death of Shaw Aulum, whose four sons were together in the camp, when, though not in an enemy's country, the families, fortunes and honour of a world became plunged in the depth of ruin.

Azim Shaw, though knowing the dangerous illness of his father, dared not disobey the orders of march. He departed from the camp, but his motions were slow and cautious; nor did the emperor press him to expedition, after the three first marches. He

The breath which rose, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons When I was alive, no care was taken, and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shaw is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahadur Shaw is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan Bedar Bukht is in Guzarat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death, but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekkoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself, that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul, but I see that mine is departing.

 even

even said to [1] Hummeed ad dien Khan, to whom he had committed the charge of his funeral rites, "Three days after my death, one "of my sons will arrive in camp, and send my remains to Aurun-
A.H.1118. A.C.1707. Feb.21st. "gabad in a proper manner." On Friday the twenty-eighth of Zeekaud, his majesty performed his morning devotions in company with his attendants; after which, as was frequently his custom, he exclaimed, "O that my death may happen on a Friday, for "blessed is he who dieth on that day!" Soon after, he had occasion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun the [2] tiummum, as was always his custom till water for the [3] wuzzoo could be brought, and had made one sprinkling, when suddenly his most pure spirit fled from the narrowness of corporeal confinement, to the boundless expansion of the Most High. We are from God, and to God we must return. His hands remained clasped, and in motion, for some time after he had ceased to breathe. How can I express my own feelings? This much I know, that the kindness, favour and distinction, for fifty years, of that atom-cherishing sun to me, his humble slave, his great actions, his glory, his piety, his perseverance in virtue from youth to age, the revolutions of his reign, and all the wonderful events of time, rushed upon my memory at once in a sea of grief, and overwhelmed my heart, so that I forgot myself, and knew not what passed around me.

Azim Shaw, being informed of the event by his agents, and the nobles who affected to embrace his interest, arrived on the third

[1] Anglicè, Aider of the faith.

[2] A purification by sprinkling of dust over the body, ordered by Mahummud for the convenience of his followers inhabiting the dry deserts of Arabia, where water is too valuable for the poor to use on slight occasions.

[3] Ditto with water.

 of

of [1] Zeehudge at the camp at Ahmednuggur. He omitted no shew of affection and respect to his deceased father, but, like the orphans of those in humble life, shed many tears.

Many of the chief imperial servants, as [2] Muttullub Khan, [3] Khoddabundeh Khan, [4] Terbeut Khan, and others, had a real attachment to Azim Shaw. Some neither loved or hated him; and a few, though they disliked, yet, from inability to oppose, prudently submitted to his authority. Three Mogul chiefs only delayed to come in to offer their allegiance, [5] Feeroze Jung, his son Cheen Koollich Khan, and [6] Mahummud Ameen Khan.

On the tenth of Zeehuge, 1118, Azim Shaw ascended the throne of empire amidst the usual rejoicings, and conferred favours on the nobility according to their stations, but on few in a manner affording satisfaction. Here I must be permitted to mention one or two instances of the wonderful accomplishment of the decrees of Providence. While he was only a prince, most of the nobility were attached to Azim Shaw, and regarded him as possessing every approved quality for empire; but almost immediately after his accession to the throne, the general opinion was altered, from his own conduct. He slighted the principal nobility, and betrayed great parsimony to the army, acting as if he had no occasion for their services. This proceeded from a vain belief that none dared to oppose him, and that his elder brother, Shaw Aulum, relin-

[1] The twelfth month of the Arabian year.
[2] Anglicè, Object of the wish.
[3] Slave of God.
[4] Accomplished in manners and morals.
[5] Fortunate in war.
[6] Faithful in Mahummud.

quishing

quishing to him such a vast empire as Hindostan, without a struggle, would fly for safety to another clime. At the same time, he openly declared his jealousy of his own son, Bedar Bukht, whose favour with the late emperor had displeased him. He treated the old nobility with contempt, and would say publicly, that they were not fit for his service. He removed Terbeut Khan, a veteran and loyal general, from his command of the artillery, in the most insulting manner, without any notice, and conferred that important station on a young man of low rank among his creatures. In short, I cannot enumerate all the ill omens to the fortune of Azim Shaw, which proved the will of Providence to have decreed heaven bestowed empire to Shaw Aulum. He who prideth in himself is ruined. When the will of God hath decreed an event, all things G... the accomplishment.

and i...
can I e... ...hummud Kaum Buksh received intelligence of the emperor's
kindness, ...n his third day's march from Ahmednuggur, and was im-
cherishing ...deserted by Mahummud Ameen Khan, and all the Too-
his piety, his ...ls, though they had been purposely appointed for his
tions of his reig... this crisis, by Aulumgeer. In addition to this mis-
upon my memory ...ecar Khan, his bitterest enemy, who had once
heart, so that I forgo... ...siege of ...Jinjee, lay in his route with a consi-
me. ...t it was probable his person would be seized
...to obtain the favour of the new empe-
...orders to that effect; but Zool-
...co... ..., did not obey them,
...ore, which he was al-

...name of a scymetar

lowed

lowed to keep, as his brother, being eager to quit Dekkan, did not endeavour to remove him.

Azim Shaw now proceeded with the Imperial camp towards Agra, by regular ſtages, as if the principal of a caravan, and taking the route of Toomree, quitted the broad and eaſy road of Akberpore, on his left; proving, by this imprudent ſtep, that, when deſtiny is unfavourable, man always doeth that which is wrong. The route of Toomree was hilly, full of woods, and, for many long ſpaces, void of water; ſo that, during two days march, great numbers of men, women, children, and animals, periſhed through fatigue and thirſt. It was remarked by numbers, at the time, that this foreboded evil to the fortune of Azim Shaw; for he had raſhly neglected the example of his father Aulumgeer, who, when marching againſt [1] Dara Shekkoh, had choſen the route of Akberpore.

I muſt now return to the affairs of Bedar Bukht, whom it was my fortune to join. This prince, on the death of Aulumgeer, received orders from his father, Azim Shaw, to march immediately from Guzarat, and proceed towards Lahore, to prevent the advance of Shaw Aulum from Cabul. Bedar Bukht had the greateſt and moſt ſincere affection for his grandfather, who equally loved him; and on that account the father and ſon became jealous of each other. Upon receipt of the melancholy news, he was overwhelmed with real grief, which dwelt long upon his mind, for, when I ſaw him afterwards at Oojein, he would frequently weep at recollection of his loſs. In obedience to the orders of his father, he departed from Guzarat without delay, at the head of only three thouſand

[1] A moſt excellent and authentic account of this prince's adventures and misfortunes may be ſeen in Bernier's Travels, which are bound up in Churchill's and Lord Oxford's Collection of Voyages. Dow alſo details them, but I prefer Bernier's account, as more artleſs.

horſe,

horse, his own dependants, and carried with him about thirty lacks of rupees in treasure, property of his own, not presuming to touch [1] twenty lacks in the Imperial treasury, lest it should raise suspicions of his fidelity in the mind of his father. For the same reason, he made not any addition to his force, though he could with ease have raised a great army, and might have procured a [2] corore of rupees from the bankers and renters, by way of loan, without oppression, as did [3] Moraud Buksh, when he marched from this province against Dara Shekkoh.

On the eve of his march, he dispatched a letter to me and several others on his route; but the couriers brought none to hand in due time, the public roads being guarded by officers, who had orders to search all messengers, and inspect letters. As the prince expected me on the frontiers of Malwa, he was much disappointed on his arrival there, and repeatedly exclaimed, "What can have happened, "to prevent the coming of Eradut Khan?" My enemies, and several envious persons, took occasion to defame me, saying, that I would never join him; for, knowing the jealousy between him and his father, who was now emperor, I was gone to court his favour. In this manner did my enemies address him, till he arrived near Oojein; when, not finding m[illegible] of his regard and reliance upon me, suspicion f[illegible] of my fidelity.

At length, on the firſt of [1] Mohirrim, the prince's letters were brought me altogether, and immediately after, having loaded a ſmall tent and ſome neceſſaries on two trained camels, I departed from Mandou, leaving the fortreſs in charge of my dear relation and friend, Meer Sunjir.

The prince had been for ſome time encamped near Oojein, waiting for the lucky day to make his entry into that city, ſo that by chance I reached the camp at the inſtant of good fortune. He was moving in his [2] nallekee towards the town, when he perceived me at a diſtance, and ſaid to his attendants, "Is not that Eradut "Khan that I ſee?" And was ſcarcely anſwered, when I came up. He ſtopped his train, and opening wide his arms, cried, "Come, "come my friend! in expectation of whom my eyes have been "ſtretched, even to dimneſs." I kiſſed his feet, and preſented my offering. He preſſed my head to his boſom, and taking off his [3] neem-aſteen, put it on my ſhoulders. His firſt words were lamentations mingled with tears, for the deceaſed emperor his grandfather, for whom he knew the ſincerity of my grief. He then ordered me to mount my horſe, and ride near him, and, as we proceeded to the city, related all that had happened to himſelf, and his anxiety at not meeting me on the borders of the province. When I had ſatisfied him for my delay, he commanded thoſe who had ſpoken againſt me to quit his preſence, with much diſpleaſure, and refuſed to admit them again for many days.

[1] The firſt month of the Arabian year.

[2] A canopied litter peculiar to the princes, and allowed now and then to ſome few great officers of ſtate. It is generally of rich materials, and often entirely of ſilver. It is carried on the ſhoulders of twelve or ſixteen bearers, on three poles, one on each ſide, like our ſedans, and the third running under the middle of the machine.

[3] An upper robe with half-ſleeves, commonly made of gold or ſilver tiſſue. For a prince, or perſon of high rank, to confer any part of his own dreſs on an inferior, is accounted a very great honour to the receiver.

Bedar

Bedar Bukht did not remain in the palace of Oojein; but, after viewing the city, pitched his camp on the bank of the river, at about a coſs diſtant. Here he was attended by [1] Abdoollah Khan, the ſoubadar of Malwa, and continued one month and twenty days, expecting the arrival of his father, when that raſh prince wrote him the following firmaun:

"Why have you not haſtened on, nor ſunk the boats in the "[2] Suttulludge, to prevent the approach of the enemy? Though "he dare not face me, yet you have been guilty of high neglect."

Soon after my arrival in camp, the prince ſent a [3] Niſhaun, with the *following* words *in his own hand, to my* dear ſon [4] Huddaiut Oollah Khan, then Fojedaur of a diſtrict of about two days journey from Oojein.

"Your father, one of my moſt eſteemed dependants, attends "the ſtirrup. I am ſurprized that you have not as yet come to the "preſence."

My ſon, in reply, wrote to the prince, that he ſhould ſhortly ſeek the honour of an audience; but privately to me, deſiring that I would repreſent to his highneſs, what reſpect would not permit him to mention himſelf. This was, that though I had no force under me, yet my attendance and advice might be of uſe; but that he, unleſs at the head of troops, could do no ſervice; that he had then with him two thouſand veteran ſoldiers, all his followers for twenty years, who would accompany him without the limits of his

[1] Slave of God.
[2] One of the five great rivers between Cabul and Lahore.
[3] The letters of the emperor are ſtyled firmauns, thoſe of princes, niſhauns.
[4] Directed by God.

government.

government. Of these he had sent a return to the prince, whom he would immediately attend, on the advance of a month's pay to enable him to march; but without that they must be excused.

His highness, in answer to this message, said to me, "To give "Huddaiut Oollah this sum, or much greater, I would not hesi-"tate; but, alas! should I call in such a force, as your attachment "to me has been represented to my father in a suspicious view by "interested persons, he would instantly, on the junction of your "son's troops, be convinced of my disloyalty, and turn his arms "from Shaw Aulum against me. Write this to your son." I did so; and he declined coming to the camp, writing to me the following words: "I resign you to the protection of a gracious "God, since I am prevented by my ill-fortune from paying my "duty in person. I wish you could leave the party with which "you are engaged, as I see destiny will to it prove unfavorable." God be praised, that from his prudent caution, my dear son remained secure from the ensuing troubles.

Bedar Bukht, agreeable to the orders of his father, moved towards Agra, and was joined from the presence by *Zoolfeccar* Khan, Ram Sing Harrah, zemindar of [1] Koteh, and *Dulput* [2] Bonedela, also Amaun Oolla Khan, who were sent by Azim Shaw,

[1] A principal zemindary in Malwa, now much circumscribed *by the Mharattas*, who allow the raja, a descendant of Ram Sing's, but a very small proportion of his lands.

[2] The Bonedela tribe of Rajapootes are the possessors of *[illegible]*, an extensive tract, [illegible] chief, [illegible] import [illegible] his house by Chuttersaul, one of a younger branch of the Bonedelas, whose descendants now hold his estates jointly with the Mharattas, who have a third part of the lands, and produce of the diamond mines of *Purna*.

as much to guard the prince's motions as to aſſiſt him. [1] Meerza Raja Jey Sing, [2] Khan Aulum a Dekkan chief, with his brother [3] Munnower Khan, and other officers, alſo joined from the preſence, with about ſix thouſand horſe.

The prince [4] Mahummud Azeem Ooſhawn, who had, by Aulumgeer's orders, left his government of Bengal to proceed to the preſence, had reached the vicinity of Agra, when he heard of the emperor's deceaſe; upon which he marched to ſecure that city for his father, Shaw Aulum. [5] *Mukhtar Khan, the ſoubadar,* who was attached to Azim Shaw, and father-in-law to Bedar Bukht, hoping to impede his progreſs, ſunk all the boats in the Jumna, and placed guards at the neareſt fords. But, alas! what power had ſuch a vaſſal to face the ſon of his decreed ſovereign? The prince moved higher up, and having croſſed the river, took him priſoner; but regarding his former ſervices, and thoſe of his

[1] *Zemindar of a conſiderable territory in the province of Ajmere, named Ambeer; but ſince this prince's founding a new city called Jeypore, the rajaſhip has alſo taken that name.* Jeypore is reckoned the moſt regular built city in Hindoſtan; and Europeans, who have ſeen it, ſpeak highly of its magnificence. Jey Sing was a great encourager of ſcience, and built ſeveral obſervatories for aſtronomical ſtudies. He alſo erected a caravanſerai and market in every province of Hindoſtan, for the convenience of travellers, at his own expence. The preſent raja of Jeypore, his grand-nephew, poſſeſſes the city, but not much territory, part of which has been ſeized by vaſſals of his family, and part by the Mharattas and Mogul chiefs, to both of whom he is tributary. Jeypore is the great mart for horſes from Perſia and the northern provinces of Hindoſtan; and the old citadel of Ambeer, cloſe to it, is ſaid to contain vaſt wealth laid up by Jey Sing. *This will probably one day fall into the hands of the Mharattas, if they are not ſoon diverted from their operations in this part of India, by troubles in Dekkan, that ſhall furniſh them employment nearer home.*

[2] Anglicè, Lord of the world.

[3] Enlightened lord

[4] Anglicè, Of high dignity; ſecond ſon of Shaw Aulum, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Aulumgeer.

[5] Anglicè, Powerful lord.

family,

family, did not offer him personal injuries. It had as yet been the usage of the princes of this illustrious house, though a nobleman according to his connections with one of them, appeared against another in the field, that the victor did not put him to death, or disgrace him. On the contrary, the fidelity and valour displayed by him, in the cause of a defeated rival, were sure recommendations to the conqueror's favour. The princes knew that the stability of power and regulation of empire rested on the support of an experienced nobility, and they would frequently observe, "that their "enmity was not to the throne; for whenever a prince became "fixed upon it, they were faithful subjects. If then we destroy "them, through whom can we administer the government." By this wise policy of the Imperial family, the rules and order of the extensive empire of Hindostan remained uninjured by the quarrels of the princes—But to return to my subject.

When Mahummud Bedar Bukht approached the banks of the [1] Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived near [2] Gualiar, Azeem Ooshawn detached a considerable body from Agra, under [3] Motushum Khan, to guard the fords. Bedar Bukht was fond of enterprize, jealous of his honour, and of high mind tempered with prudence. A rivalship for glory had always subsisted between him and his father, Azim Shaw, who was of rash courage, and never looked beyond the present in his conduct. Like the [4] whisker-twisting vaunters

[1] A river in the province of Agra.

[2] One of the most celebrated fortresses of Hindostan, an elegant plate of which, with the account of its capture by a detachment under colonel Popham, in 1780, has been given to the public by major Rennell, but another, on a larger scale, with a more minute description of the place, is now preparing by the ingenious Mr W. Hodges, well known for his drawings under Captain Cook, and for his views of places in India, taken by himself on the spot.

[3] Dignified.

[4] The twist of the whiskers in India, and the outrageous cock of the hat in England, are alike characteristic.

of Hindoſtan, if his ſon made any delay on his march, he would jeſt and ſneer, attributing it to cowardice, and dread of the enemy. On this account, Bedar Buhkt reſolved to croſs the Chumbul immediately, and attack the poſts of Motuſhum Khan; but this proceeding was ſtrongly oppoſed by Zoolfeccar Khan, an experienced general of approved conduct; upon which a ſtrange contention took place, which is worthy of relation.

A number of low-minded perſons, vain and imprudent, ſuch as are too frequently the favorites of princes, who thought themſelves capable antagoniſts for the nobility of Azeem Oſhawn, regarding this as a fit opportunity to ſhew their loyalty and attachment, interfered in the conduct of affairs. As Zoolfeccar Khan, in the opinion of ſome, was ſuſpected of treachery, they ſeized this occaſion to perſuade the prince that he correſponded with Shaw Aulum, and wiſhed to delay engaging till his approach, in order to complete his deſigns of deſertion to his cauſe. God only knows the heart, and perhaps it might have been ſo; but, in the eye of underſtanding, good policy alone ſeemed to influence his conduct in this affair.

When he was informed that the prince had reſolved on croſſing the river the next morning, he repeatedly repreſented, through the proper officers, that ſuch a ſtep was by no means adviſeable at the preſent criſis; but the prince refuſed to take his opinion. Upon this, Zoolfeccar Khan went himſelf to his highneſs's tents, and requeſted an audience, ſetting forth, that he had affairs of importance to communicate; but the prince would not admit him, and ſent word, that nightly council was unlucky, therefore he muſt wait till the morning. I had heard of Zoolfeccar Khan's advice during the day, and of the prince's diſſent, but knew not what had paſſed at night; for I made it a rule never to go to his councils,

unleſs

unlefs called upon; and his highnefs had never failed, till now, to fend for me. It happened, that I had been this day to vifit Zoolfeccar Khan, at his earneft requeft, but not a word on the affair in debate paffed between us. Some envious perfons, however, took this occafion to perfuade the prince, that I was a partner with the general, and, notwithftanding his conviction of my fidelity, his highnefs, in his prefent humour, believed them. Hence it is, that the ancients obferved, "We fhould never rely on the favour of "princes; for when their minds are difgufted, though without "caufe, a thoufand years of confidence may be deftroyed in one "inftant of fufpicion."

The day following, fuddenly, before morning prayer, the march of battle was founded, and the prince, completely armed, mounted the elephant which he always rode in the day of action. I was at my devotions, when I heard the drums; but dreffing myfelf in hafte and aftonifhment, I fpeeded to attend him. He had moved fome diftance from the tents before I came up. I found him, with an angry countenance, and contemptuous exclamation, uttering reproachful terms of Zoolfeccar Khan, as deceiver, traitor, falfe wretch, and the like, to fome fervile attendants round his elephant; but, on perceiving me, he became filent, and looked more difpleafed. According to cuftom, I alighted from my horfe to make my obeifance, of which he took no notice, nor fpoke, nor fmiled upon me as he was wont to do, but turned his head another way. Though much hurt at this flight, I took my ftation as ufual on his right hand, clofe to the ear of his elephant, and ruminated on the change in his behaviour, while my enemies, who during the night had formed this [1] telifm, were rejoicing all around at my diftrefs. Though his highnefs did not fpeak to them after my

[1] Charm, or talifman.

arrival,

arrival, yet I judged, by their exulting, and winking to one another, that ſomewhat highly pleaſing to them had happened.

Juſt then, Zoolfeccar Khan ſent an officer to requeſt I would attend him; for he hoped that, at my deſire, the prince would alter his intention of paſſing the river. I informed his highneſs of the officer's coming, for I never viſited any of the nobility without permiſſion. Upon this, he angrily exclaimed, "Go! *Your "quiver alſo hangs at his belt!" I then deſired the officer to return, and tell what he had heard, as I could not go; but the prince, with a furious aſpect, cried out, "Be gone! Why don't "you go to your friend?" At beholding this, a giddineſs ſeized my brain, and I became diſtracted; for I never expected ſuch words from him, whoſe favour I thought ſincere, and prided myſelf on deſerving, by my fidelity. I became raging, raſh, and impetuous, and ſaid, "What buſineſs can I, the humbleſt of the "humble, have with nobles of Zoolfeccar's exalted rank? He "was the firſt general of your grandfather; but your father has "now detached him under your command, and certainly the "power is at preſent in your hands, to treat him as you pleaſe." His highneſs, upon this, more angrily than ever, exclaimed, "Surely the emperor hath not made you my tutor!" What ſhall I ſay? Heaven and earth ſeemed to fall at once upon my ſhoulders, and I wiſhed to die that inſtant; but theſe words involuntarily ſlipped from my tongue: "What is my ability, to be-"come tutor to a prince like your highneſs? Yet, ſhould the truſt "be offered me, I would rather fly from ſociety with a ſhorn head, "than accept it." To this he made no reply, and I quitted his perſon without ceremony.

* An idiomatical expreſſion, ſignifying that he was attached to his party.

I had not gone far, when the generous, forbearing, patient and benevolent prince, cherisher of his friends, sent to me the * daroga of his khowaus, to say, as from himself, " What troublesome " dreams hath my friend seen, to disorder his imagination, and " make him rave? Know you not, that spies have prejudiced my " father against you, as my adviser? Therefore, as much con- " tention passed last night, between me and Zoolfeccar Khan, and " I have just now insulted that deceitful traitor, I spoke angrily to " you also, to remove suspicion of my treatment of him proceeding " from your counsel, not supposing you could misapprehend me." Upon this, I stopped till the prince came up, when he called me to him, and smiling, whispered in my ear, " I have beheld your " deep penetration." I replied, " I did not expect such expressions " from your highness." He answered, " I also wished to try " *your patience, my friend, who pretend to so much prudence,* " with such heat and passion." Having said this, he took from his neck a large cornelian of * Yemmun, on which were engraved some prayers in a beautiful character, and giving it to me, said aloud, " Admire this graving !" at the same time nodding that I should keep it; but I returned it, signifying privately, that the gift was improper before so many envious witnesses. At length, my late exulting and mean-spirited enemies, seeing me again in favour, retired to a distance, and left me to converse with his highness; who then said, " Surely you must have forgotten what my " father wrote to me, concerning you, three days since, and my " answer to his majesty !" That affair I will relate.

The prince had three days before received a firmaun under his father's own hand, and I went with him to meet it, agreeable to custom. About midnight, he sent for me again, and carried me

* Overseer of domestic attendants. * Arabia Felix.

into

into the ſleeping apartment of his [1] mahal, where he had been ſitting with the mother of [2] Bedar Dil, who retired as I came in, to another chamber. He gave me the firmaun, and deſired me to read it. In it was written, in Azim Shaw's own hand, the following ſentence: "You are day and night conſulting with Eradut Khan; "I wiſh to know for what purpoſe!" When I had returned the paper, his highneſs aſked what was fit to write in anſwer.

I replied, "I am your ſervant. Diſmiſs me for the preſent, "and when my duty is requiſite, I will inſtantly return." He exclaimed, "You muſt not leave me; but ſome anſwer muſt be "written. I will attempt one; but you muſt alſo compoſe "another, and we will ſend that we both approve." He then gave me pen, ink and paper, from his ſtandiſh, and ſeated me at a lamp. He wrote, and I wrote. When we had finiſhed, it appeared, on compariſon, that we had both written the ſame, almoſt without the difference of a word, as follows:

"It muſt be remembered in the ſacred mind, that your majeſty, "in paſſing through Malwa to the preſence of the [3] Shadow of "God, ſaid to your ſlave, *Eradut Khan is our houſehold ſervant,* "*truly loyal, wiſe and experienced. I give him to you, that, when* "*important affairs ſhall come in agitation, you may conſult with him.* "Health to your majeſty! What criſis of affairs can be more im-"portant than the preſent? According to the orders founded in "benevolence, I do conſult with him daily, on all affairs public "and private. I know not what ſuſpicions thoſe admitted to the "preſence may have formed of this faithful ſervant, but, were "they communicated to me, I could remove them to the ſatisfac-"tion of your majeſty."

[1] The ladies apartments. [2] His ſon; Anglicè, Vigilant mind. [3] The emperor Aulumgeer.

The prince applauded me much, and said, "with this able "judgement and the similarity of our dispositions, how can I "avoid giving you my esteem?" But to be sincere in this affair, justice was on the side of Azim Shaw, for Bedar Bukht was rival to his father, and waited opportunity to dethrone him. As for me, I was never in the service of Azim Shaw, nor had ever made him professions of duty, being wholly devoted to his son.

Being alone with him one night, he suddenly threw his arms about my neck, and holding down his head upon my breast, said, "If a sovereign and parent seeks the life of a son, and that son is "truly informed of his intention, how should he act in self-"defence? Have you a precedent for it?"

I replied, "Such a question is unnecessary. The behaviour of "your [1] grandfather to his father is a sufficient precedent; and "sovereigns are forced to expedients which are not justifiable in "other men."

Conversation of this sort often passed between us; and one evening he asked me, how he might gain an opportunity of seizing his father. I replied, "An opportunity will offer thus: When "he has gained the victory over Shaw Aulum, you will be the "first to congratulate him. The troops will then be separated "here and there in search of plunder, or looking after the dead "and wounded; and, as the tents will not be ready, your father "will be only under a [2] shaumianeh, surrounded by a few [3] kanauts.

[1] Alluding to Aulumgeer's dethronement of Shaw Jehaun.

[2] A canopy of cotton cloth.

[3] Walls of cotton cloth, which are always pitched round the tents of all who can afford them. The principal chiefs have them, enclosing ground of a great extent round theirs. They have a very splendid appearance. Bernier gives a good description of a Mogul camp, to which the curious may refer.

"You will be admitted to audience, attended by ſuch of your fol-
"lowers as may have deſerved notice in the action by their gallant
"conduct; and, at ſuch a time, they will be allowed their arms.
"It is probable your father will not have many perſons with him
"between the kanauts. Then is your time." The prince eagerly exclaimed, "You have ſpoken well! Dare you, at ſuch a time,
"ſtrike the blow?"

I replied, that though the act was eaſy, yet a ſacred oath reſted upon our family never to ſhed the blood of a prince unleſs by chance in battle, if engaged in the cauſe of a rival, when it would be excuſable. I then ſaid, "Your other opportunity will be thus:
"ſhould the enemy fly, an army will be ſent in purſuit, and pro-
"bably under your command, while your father, ſetting his mind
"at eaſe, will be employed, without ſuſpicion, in pleaſure and
"rejoicing. You may return ſuddenly upon him, and gain your
"wiſhes." Should this opportunity not occur, as you are his eldeſt
"ſon and have ſeen much ſervice, he will certainly appoint you to
"the government of Dekkan. You will have then a powerful
"army at your diſpoſal. As your father's behaviour is diſguſtful
"to the people, and many of the courtiers diſlike him, they will
"aid your pretenſions. Uſe open force, and try for whom God
"will decide."

Bedar Bukht, having croſſed the Chumbul at an unobſerved ford, the troops of Azeem Ooſhaun, who were ſtationed on the banks of the river in another quarter, left their artillery in the various poſts, and fled to Agra, happy to ſave their lives. Zool-feccar, who had adviſed the prince to remain on the other ſide, ſeeing he had croſſed, now came up reluctantly, and congratulated him on the ſucceſs of his march. This ſubmiſſion pleaſing his highneſs, he reſolved on the morrow to honour him with a viſit,

 in

in order to atone for his late behaviour. Zoolfeccar Khan, hearing of his intention, sent a message to me, desiring that I would persuade him to lay it aside, as his highness's visit would occasion various reports, and the cause be inserted in the intelligence of the spies, with remarks that would injure the prince and himself in the opinion of Azim Shaw.

'I was preparing to execute the commission; but before I could leave my tent, Zoolfeccar Khan passed by, having resolved to go himself to the prince. Begging pardon for his boldness, he presented a [1] garland of flowers to his highness, who, softened with his humility, shewed him more favour than was consistent with his own dignity. It was a rule of Aulumgeer's, never to shew such condescension to the nobility, as to make them think themselves too necessary to him, but he conducted himself so as to be held in respectful veneration by those even nearest his person. Certain it is, that too much humility in a sovereign loses him the object for which it is assumed. The prince, having honoured him with the robe he had on, and a rich [2] sirpeach of jewels, dismissed him with numerous professions of kindness.

'Zoolfeccar Khan the same evening made another visit, when I only was sitting with the prince, and thus began to offer his advice: "Since your highness has crossed the river, as the prince Azeem "Ooshaun is near, it is proper to march towards him immediately, "lest your father should conceive evil suspicions, or the army

[1] Garlands made of the chumbeely, a sort of double jasmine, are always introduced with the betel at entertainments, and presented to the guests, also tassels of the same for the turban, and sometimes leaves of gold and silver foils, are interwoven with the flowers

[2] The sirpeach is a jewel for the turban. A kulghee, or egret, is generally worn with it.

"suppose that you fear to engage him." The prince did not answer him, but nodding to me, said, "Have you heard what he "observed?" I replied, "Yes; and he is an experienced general "and faithful servant; yet there are some points to be considered. "Though engaging Azeem Ooshaun is no hazardous enterprize, "yet he is also a prince; and if, now your highness has crossed "the river to meet him, he does not march this way, the reproach "of delay will rest on him. Let us consider also who is nearest to "us, Azim Shaw, or Shaw Aulum. If the former, let us march: "yet Azeem Ooshaun, if defeated, has the city of Agra for a re-"fuge, to reduce which must require some days. His father may "also arrive with his vast army, said to be an hundred thousand "horse, and he has already with him thirty thousand. If Zool-"feecar Khan judges he can, without the aid of your father, "engage these two armies, and a prince of Shaw Aulum's expe-"rience and valour, what can we dread? Let us march." Zool-feecar Khan, in reply to this, only said, as was his manner when pleased, "Good! good! good! He hath spoken well."

Some days after this, Azim Shaw approaching near, Bedar Bukht moved a coss in front, the spot he was upon being chosen for his father's tents; and the morning of his arrival, went two coss from the camp to meet him. Azim Shaw loved him as a *son*, though, from the attention shewn him by Aulumgeer, he had regarded him as a rival. When he now beheld him, after long absence, paternal fondness for the instant overcame his jealousy, and he received him with strong marks of affection, conferring upon him a princely khelaut, with the [1] chaurkub, a sword set with jewels, elephants and horses. The prince, after the interview, asked me if I would not pay my respects to his father: to which I replied, that I did

[1] An upper robe, never conferred but on princes of the royal family, the vizier of the empire, and Ameer al Amra.

not wish it, having no desire to engage his notice, or embrace his service, but, upon his observing that my declining it would occasion much suspicion, I consented, and was introduced Azim Shaw, upon seeing me, said, " Are you also come?" I replied, " Yes, " but without orders I left my station, though far distant from " the route of your majesty Who else has done so? He conferred the usual khelaut upon me, and gave orders for my being employed.

Empire having been decreed to Shaw Aulum, from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of Azim Shaw, that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of [1] Toor and Sullum, durst not meet him in the field Hence, those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth, as was formerly the case with the emperor [2] Humaioon, during the rebellion of the Afghan Shere Shaw Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence, so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival

At length Shaw Aulum having reached [3] Muttra, sent by a celebrated dirvesh the following message to Azim Shaw " By the " divine auspices, we inherit from our ancestors an extensive " empire, comprehending many kingdoms It will be just and " glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent

[1] Vast armies, mentioned in the Koraun

[2] Father of Akber See his reign in Dow's History

[3] A city about eighteen coss N of Agra, much venerated by the Hindoos, it being the birth place of their god Kishen There were formerly very rich temples in it, but one, more celebrated than the rest, and erected by Ber Sing, deo raja of Oorcha, cost thirty six lacks of rupees It was razed by Aulumgeer, who built a mosque on the site with the materials Muttra, however, has still many temples, which are visited by pilgrims from all parts of India

" to

" to shed the blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the " empire between us. Though I am the elder, I will leave the " choice in your power." Azim Shaw, vain-glorious and haughty, replied, that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the field, and upon this, the messenger departed. Azim Shaw marched the next morning, and encamped between Iajoo and Agra, on a barren plain void of water, so that the army was much distressed. Intelligence arrived during this day, that Shaw Aulum was encamped seven coss distant, and intended moving on the morrow, but to what quarter was not known.

I have already mentioned, that my design is not to write the history of kings, but of myself, and what I have seen. Accordingly, of the battle between the brothers, I shall only relate such circumstances as I was an eye-witness of.

Sunday, the 18th of Rubee al awul, A.H. 1119. A.C. 1707.

The morning dawned; but what a dawn! Darting fire, and tinged with blood; of whose horrors the last day can only prove an imitation. Call it not morning; it was the day of judgment! Call it not dawn; it was the evening of death! Call it not day, but the gloomy eve of the woes of time!

Mahummud Bedar Bukht, who commanded the advanced corps of the army, having given the necessary orders, began his march. He was mounted upon his favorite elephant, and his most valued attendants were near his person. Zoolfeccar Khan with the two Raujpoet chiefs, Ram Sing and Dulput Roy, also Amaun Oollah Khan, followed them, inclined somewhat to the left of the prince. The main body of the army marched next, in the center of which rode Azim Shaw, surrounded by his courtiers and a numerous band of Mogul, Afghan and Hindostanee [1] munsubdaurs, of

[1] Anglice, Holding rank. Persons of family, but without titles of nobility.

approved

approved valour. We had not as yet learned the poſition of the enemy, or what was the deſign of Shaw Aulum.

Mahummud Bedar Bukht had reached a village, near which was a ſtream of clear water; and ſome wells were alſo round about it. The troops at this time were much ſeparated, and every chief, inattentive to order, moved as he choſe. Seeing which, I repreſented to the prince, that the main body was far behind; that the country in his front was deſtitute of water for ſome miles, and the day promiſed to be diſtreſſingly hot. Without order, without intelligence of the enemy's motions, where would he haſten? I remarked the ſcattered march of his followers, Zoolfeccar Khan obliqued ſo far to the left as ſcarcely to be viſible, and other chiefs equally diſtant in every quarter. I obſerved, that, if he halted here till ſome news arrived of the enemy, there was ſufficient water to refreſh the troops, the artillery would come up, the emperor have time to join, and order be reſtored in the line; alſo that, ſhould the enemy advance upon him, he would have the advantage of good ground and plenty of water. He replied, "Your advice is juſt. Go, and inform my father I ſhall follow it."

It happened alſo, that Shaw Aulum had no advice of the route of our army; and, as there was but little water where he was encamped, he had this morning diſpatched his main body under Monauim Khan, while he, with his ſons and perſonal attendants, hunted along the bank of the Jumna. His [1] peeſhkhaneh, with the uſual eſcort under [2] Rooſtum-dil Khan, was coming on in front of the army, in the ſame route as our line.

[1] Anglic [illegible]

[2] Anglic [illegible] tents, &c [illegible] of encampment, and pitched for their reception.

[3] Anglicè, Of heart like Rooſtum, the celebrated champion of Firdoſi's Shawnammeh, or Hiſtory of Perſian Kings.

Upon the delivery of my message to Azim Shaw, he replied, "It is very well. Go, and inform my son I am coming up." I returned to the prince's place of halt, but what did I behold! The prince had marched on, and left the baggage unprotected. I followed after him, and, upon joining the Shahzada, ... of congratulation on victory. ... the prince ... eagerly exclaimed, "I congratulate you on victory." I replied, "How gained victory, without a battle?" Upon which his highness ... said, "The ... Khan ... have you heard?" This ... , that he had taken the * Sovereign elephant of Shaw Aulum, without a rider, and with but few attendants, running off towards Agra. The prince then said, that our left wing had defeated the enemy, and taken all their baggage. The truth of this imaginary victory was this: The advanced baggage of Shaw Aulum falling in with our left wing, was attacked, and the elephant being thus taken. The elephant then running away, belonged to Rustum-dil Khan, who commanded the advance.

The prince, however, now ordered Jaun to go and inform his father of the victory, knowing that my being the bearer of good news would give me favour in his mind. I declined going, and observed, that I could not carry intelligence so very ridiculous and groundless: upon which the prince was angry, and exclaimed, "What do you mean?" I replied, "Let us reflect on the subject. Is not Shaw Aulum the son of Aurungzebe, and claimant of the throne? Has he not advanced from Cabul to Agra with four sons, valiant like himself, and a great army? Can then any person of judgment ever suppose, that he would basely fly without a battle, or even having seen his enemy? What head

* That on which he usually rode.

"can have seized him, who was a valiant leader in the wars of "Dekkan, against [1] Samba, [2] Sunta, and [3] Dhunna? Accidents "will happen to the baggage of armies, and this boasted victory "is no more. Your troops have plundered his advanced tents; "but woe to those who have been thus employed! If important "service should now offer, they will be useless, confused as they "are, and encumbered with spoil." To these remarks the prince angrily exclaimed, "You are always apprehensive, and foreboding "ill!" He then ordered Casim, the [4] darogah of his divan, to carry the intelligence of victory to Azim Shaw.

Scarce half an hour after this had elapsed, when a great dust arose upon our right. Upon this, I said to the prince, "Behold "the consequence of our victory, and the flight of Shaw Aulum! "Yon cloud precedes at least fifty thousand horse." Just as I had concluded, another dust arose, which certified a second body of troops approaching. I desired his highness to prepare for action, while yet the enemy was at some distance. He then said, "Will "you now go, and inform my father of the enemy's approach?" To this I replied, "Though I wish not to quit your highness's "person, yet, as I am ordered, I must obey;" and, having said this, I rode off with speed towards Azim Shaw. On my way, I beheld strange disorder. Amaun Oollah Khan, a reputed good officer, who acted as [5] herauwul to the prince [6] Wallajah, I met with only two or three hundred straggling horse. Azim Shaw was

[1] Son to the celebrated Mharatta chief Sewajee, whom he succeeded; but was taken prisoner, and put to death by Aulumgeer.

[2] Another son of Sewajee.

[3] A famous Mharatta chief.

[4] Superintendant of the hall of audience.

[5] Leader of the advanced corps.

[6] Anglicè, Of high rank. He was younger son to Azim Shaw.

a coſs and a half farther in the rear, and his troops become ſeperated into three diviſions, ſo that I could not eaſily diſtinguiſh the royal poſt; for the train of artillery had been left in Dekkan, and the ſtandard elephants were out of their ſtations, ſo that there was nothing to mark the emperor from a diſtance. When Terbeut Khan was removed from the command of the artillery, and his ſucceſſor applied for orders concerning it to Azim Shaw, he was much enraged, and paſſionately exclaimed, "Do men think that I "will uſe cannon againſt a [1]breeder of cattle? I will not even "draw the ſword, but bruiſe his head with a ſtaff."

*At length I perceived the imperial [2]umbrella, and haſtened to*wards it. Some of the courtiers, who always firſt received intelligence, that they might accommodate it to the humour of their maſter, demanded my buſineſs; but, not liſtening to ſuch weak flatterers, I rode on. When Azim Shaw ſaw me, he made a ſignal for me to advance; but, ſuch was the crowd, I had ſcarce ability to puſh through it. At length, having come near to his [3]travelling throne, I alighted from my horſe, and ſaid, "The prince informs "your majeſty of the enemy's near approach." What ſhall I ſay? Azim Shaw, ſtarting as if ſtung by a ſcorpion, with furious looks, eyes rolling, and, as was his cuſtom when angry, pulling up his ſleeve, exclaimed, "Comes an enemy to me!" Being vexed at his manner, I replied, "So it appears." He then called aloud for his war elephant, and, in a frantic manner whirling a [4]crooked

[1] Alluding to the bullocks uſed for the draft of the artillery, univerſal in Hindoſtan.

[2] The umbrella is one of the imperial enſigns; and, when the etiquette of the court was kept up, no ſubject dared to carry one.

[3] A ſeat, or rather ſmall couch, fixed on three poles, like the *nallekee* deſcribed in a former note.

[4] A ſhort crooked ſtaff, about three feet in length, not unlike a croſier, uſed by fakeers to lean on when they ſit, and often by perſons of rank as an emblem of humility, and having declared themſelves diſciples to ſome holy man.

ſtaff,

ſtaff, ſtood upright in his throne, and tauntingly ſaid, "Be not "alarmed! I am coming up to my ſon." Hurt at this inſult to the ſpirit of my prince, I ſaid, "His highneſs is ſon to yourſelf, "aſylum of a world, and knoweth not fear. He only repreſents "the enemy's approach, that your majeſty may advance with the "troops, and take the poſt uſual for the emperor in the day of "battle."

Having ſaid this, I rode off to rejoin Bedar Bukht; but ſuch crowds ſurrounded me to aſk for news, that I could not diſengage myſelf till within a rocket's flight of the prince. Juſt as I had reached him, the enemy began to cannonade, and a ball ſtruck the breaſt of an attendant cloſe to his perſon.

As I had not been undreſſed for the laſt two nights, and was exceedingly fatigued with hard riding, the ſun and wind being burning hot, my ſtrength now failed me, and I fainted away. My brother, ſeeing this, lifted me from my horſe, laid me on the ground, and looſened my armour, but could get no water to revive me. The prince, obſerving my diſtreſs, generouſly ſent me a ſmall veſſel from his elephant, which gave me new life. I untied the folds of my veſt, and poured ſome of the water on my breaſt, but was ſtill too faint to riſe. By this time, Azim Shaw was come up; but, contrary to the cuſtom of the emperors, whoſe ſtation is the rear of the center, puſhed on towards Bedar Bukht, and his attendants crowded after him without order. Ameer Khan paſſing by, and ſeeing me on the ground, offered me a ſeat with him on his elephant, as did others of my friends; but I refuſed them all. At length my own elephant arriving, I mounted, and lay with my breaſt bare upon three ſkins of water, which luckily for me were in the ſeat, to prevent my fainting a ſecond time. The train elephants of Azim Shaw, thoſe of his women, of the treaſury, and

 the

the jewel office, now puſhed between me and Bedar Bukht, ſo that I was removed ſome diſtance from him.

The two bodies of the enemy had now approached, and halted within a [1] rocket's flight of our line. One of theſe was headed by the prince Azeem Ooſhaun, the other by Monauim Khan, with whom were alſo the princes [2] Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw and [3] Jehaun Shaw. Our line was ſo preſſed upon on each flank, and in the rear, by baggage elephants, cattle and followers, as greatly to incommode the troops, and render them uſeleſs. Shaw Aulum's artillery played upon us inceſſantly, and did great execution; and his ſons advancing, fired ſhowers of muſquetry, which fell like hail. A line of rockets extending in front of our army, was repeatedly diſcharged with great effect. The ſun, obſcured by duſt and ſmoke, was in the meridian, and the heat exceſſive. At length our troops, grown impatient from the galling of the enemy's cannon, prepared to charge. This being told me by my brother, who ſupported me on the elephant, I raiſed myſelf as much as I could, adjuſted my armour, and obſerved the motions. I ſaw Khan Aulum move towards the enemy with great rapidity, upon which I waved my handkerchief as a ſignal for the prince Bedar Bukht to follow, which he did, ſo that I ſhortly could ſee only the top of his [4] amaury. As to myſelf, I could not move, being wedged in by the crowd of elephants around me.

[1] The rocket in India is uſed in war, and the chamber being made of iron, does execution wherever it ſtrikes, but cannot be ſent in true di[illegible] It will reach from three to four hundred yards.

[2] Anglicè, Reſpecter of the [illegible] poſſeſſing th[illegible] ſon of Shaw Aulum.

[3] King of the world; young[illegible] Aulum.

[4] A canopied ſeat for an elep[illegible] is called [illegible]ah.

As Khan Aulum advanced nearer the enemy, his followers diminished, gradually lagging behind, and not above three hundred stuck by him to the charge. When I saw this, I well knew that all was lost. The brave chief, however, penetrated to the elephant of Azeem Ooshaun, and hurled his spear at the prince, but it missed him, and struck the thigh of an attendant; when the prince drew an arrow, which pierced the heart of Khan Aulum, and he died on the instant. His brother,* Munnower Khan, was also wounded. Their followers fell back in the utmost confusion, and fled, as did the greatest part of our right wing, leaving the prince Wallajah in a manner alone; but, notwithstanding this desertion, he heroically kept his post. Amaun Oollah Khan, seeing his danger, hastened to support him, when unluckily a rocket lighting in the pad supporting his seat on the elephant, it took fire, and burnt so furiously as to pain the animal, who turned back. The khan, half burnt, fell to the ground; and his troops, thinking he was killed, fled in disorder. The prince Wallajah, upon this, retreated for shelter towards Bedar Bukht.

A body of the enemy, under Bauz Khan Afghan, now attacked Zoolfeccar Khan, but was repulsed with great loss, and the chief badly wounded; but, by the decrees of Providence, Ram Sing Harra, and Dulput Raow Bonedelah, on whose valour and conduct Zoolfeccar Khan most depended, were both killed at the same instant by a cannon shot, upon which their raujepoots lost all confidence, and fled with the dead bodies of their chiefs. Zoolfeccar Khan, however, yet remained firm with his own followers, but, upon being charged by the whole of Azeem Ooshaun's division, he left the conduct of the battle to Syed *Muzuffir, and retired to the rear of Azim Shaw's post with Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and, having dismounted from his elephant, fled on horse-

* Victorious.

back

back to Gualiar, where he was received by his father, [*] Assud Khan. His flight determined the rout of our army.

The principal followers and personal attendants of Azim Shaw now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to wait the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron: Syed Abdoolla, and his brother Houssein Ali Khan, of the illustrious house of Barreh, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed the most gallant actions, if possible superior to their sires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and great slaughter on both sides. Houssein Ali Khan received several wounds, and fell down faint with the loss of blood. Amaun Oolla Khan was killed. Terbeut Khan, Muttuilub Khan, and Khoodabundeh Khan, having expended all their arrows, used their sabres; but the former was soon killed by a musquet ball, and the two latter fell down faint with many wounds. Suffawee Khan, of the royal house of Persia, Meerza Abdoolla, and a numerous band of great officers of Azim Shaw, were slain, after each had shewn the valour of Roostum in his defence. At last a musquet ball, and several arrows, struck the prince Bedar Bukht, and he sunk down dead upon his elephant. I saw him fall, and in the agony of grief exclaimed, "Hadst thou not, O God, created ambition of crowns "and thrones, the head of my prince had not been thus humbled "in dust and blood!"

Azim Shaw, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Shaw Aulum. From this now issued Monauim Khan with a select band, the princes Azeem Ooshaun, Moiz ad dien Jehaundar Shaw, and Jehaun Shaw. Azim Shaw soon received a mortal wound from a

[*] Anglicè, Lion; *signifying like one in valour.*

musquet

musquet ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The prince Wallajah also sunk down in the sleep of death. I now made my escape towards Agra, not chusing to go to the enemy's camp, though I had many friends, who would have given me protection.

Roostum dil Khan, who, as already mentioned, commanded the escort of Shaw Aulum's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, finding his escape cut off, paid his respects to Azim Shaw, and had continued near his elephant during the battle, till his death, with great firmness. Seeing him dead, he ascended the elephant, and cutting off the head of the corpse, remounted his horse, and hastened to the camp of Shaw Aulum. With exulting hope of great reward, he laid his prize at the prince's feet; but the compassionate Shaw Aulum, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave him nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbad the march of victory to be beaten.

Monauim Khan took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate princes, and treated the ladies of their harams with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder. He could not dismount from his elephant without help and was obliged, no pallekee being at hand, to be carried in a cloth to the presence of Shaw Aulum. His eldest son, Nyeem Khan, also was dangerously wounded by a ball in the neck, and was recovered with difficulty. Shaw Aulum passed the night under a shaumianeh on the field of battle, and the next day, having attained the important object of empire, with his mind freed from the

dread of a rival, moved in triumph to the gardens of [1] Dhera, round which his army encamped.

I shall now relate some particulars necessary to be known concerning Shaw Aulum; his march from Cabul, and other proceedings, to the day of engagement with his unfortunate brother Azim Shaw.

Some time before his death, Aulumgeer had appointed Monauim Khan to be [2] dewan to Shaw Aulum, who then held the government of Cabul. This nobleman was of great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution, and of unbending integrity of mind. He soon arranged the prince's affairs, which, before his coming into office, were always in confusion, owing to the ascendancy of unworthy favourites. Dissolute and oppressive, they, from self-interested motives, interfered with the duties of a dewan, and prevented him from doing justice. A superfluous soldiery was kept up, exceeding the ability of the revenue, and, being consequently ill paid, was ever mutinous and discontented. At the same time the houshold of the prince was distressed. Monauim Khan, respected from the esteem in which he was held by the emperor, and his already established character of great ability, soon gained the perfect confidence of Shaw Aulum. He diminished the prince's army, but took care to pay that on foot regularly, so as to leave no room for discontent, or excuse for licentiousness. When he had thus reformed affairs at Cabul, he left his son as his deputy there, and removed to Lahore, the collections of which province were full of abuses. He had resolved to amend them, and succeeded, so as to render the majority of all ranks pleased with his administration. When he heard of Aulumgeer's illness, in order

[1] About three coss, or six miles, from Agra. [2] Manager of the revenues.

to

to prevent cabals in favour of Azim Shaw, he circulated a report that Shaw Aulum would not contend for empire, but ſeek protection from his brother by a flight to Perſia. Shaw Aulum had himſelf, indeed, made this declaration long before; and with ſuch apparent reſolution, that it was believed, and dreaded even by his ſons, who reſided with him. Monauim Khan related to me afterwards the following anecdote, in theſe words:

"When I perceived that my attachment, ſincerity, and abilities, "had properly impreſſed Shaw Aulum's mind, and that he was "convinced I was a prudent, faithful and ſecret ſervant, being "alone one day with him, converſing on the affairs of the empire, "I took the liberty of thus addreſſing him: *It is reported that your "highneſs intends flying to Perſia, with ſo much confidence, that even "the princes, your ſons, aſſure me by ſacred oaths of its truth.* He "replied, *In this rumour there lies concealed a great deſign, to for-"ward which, I have ſpread it abroad, and taken pains to make it "believed. Firſt, becauſe my father, on a mere ſuſpicion of diſloyalty, "kept me nine years in cloſe confinement; and, ſhould he even now "think I cheriſhed the ſmalleſt ambition, he would immediately ſtrive "to accompliſh my ruin. Secondly, my brother, Mahummud Azim "Shaw, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme "of raſhneſs, would exert all his force againſt me. From this report "my father is eaſy, and my brother lulled into ſelf-ſecurity; but, by "the Almighty God who gave me life,* laying his hand on the Koraun "by him, *and on this holy book, I ſwear, though not one friend ſhould "join me, I will meet Azim Shaw in ſingle combat, where-ever he may "be. This ſecret, which I have ſo long maintained, and even kept "from my own children, is now entruſted to your care. Be cautious "that no inſtance of your conduct may betray it!*"

To

To proceed. When the news of Aulumgeer's death reached Monauim Khan at Lahore, he wrote immediately by exprefs to Shaw Aulum, conjuring him to march with the utmoft expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, as he fhould find artillery and all fupplies ready at Lahore. This wife minifter then prepared bridges over the various rivers, fo that not a day's delay was occafioned in croffing to the prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery, with fufficient draft. He alfo paid up all the troops, and advanced large fums to new levies. Shaw Aulum, by long marches of ten and twelve cofs each day, foon arrived in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and Monauim Khan entered that city with a felect party. The officers of Azim Shaw were alarmed, and either fled, or concealed themfelves in difguifes. [1] Mahummud Ear Khan, the kelladar of the palace, a cautious perfon, and ever looking into futurity, though he knew moft of the great ameers had embraced the caufe of Azim Shaw, yet was fo awed with the vizier's gallantry, and the arrival of Shaw Aulum, that he faw no fecurity for himfelf but in refigning his charge. He accordingly gave up the palace, in which were the treafures of Hindoftan, collected from the reign of Akber to the prefent times. Thus was Shaw Aulum, by the activity and refolution of his fervant, made mafter of funds to fupport (if he chofe) all the troops to be levied in the empire. The army was now increafed to one hundred thoufand horfe, and foldiers of every caft and fect flocked in crowds to the imperial ftandard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid. Monauim Khan advanced with fome chofen troops before the prince to Agra, and though Bedar Bukht was at the Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived at Gualiar, he was not alarmed, but encamped immediately before the citadel. [2] Baukee Khan, an old imperial fervant,

[1] Anglicè, Friend of Mahummud. [2] Anglicè, Conftant.

vant, and governor of the fortress, which he had refused to resign to Azeem Ooshawn, being certified that Shaw Aulum was approaching, did not chuse to resist longer, but sent offers, that if Monaum Khan would come first alone into the citadel, he would resign the command He accordingly, without the least distrust, entered over a narrow plank, only passable for a single person, which was placed over a deep ditch from a small wicket to admit him As he had made a forced march from Muttra, of twenty coss, he now lay down to take a few hours rest, till all his followers arrived After this refreshment, he sealed up the treasury, posted his people at the different gates, and about midnight went to visit Azeem Ooshawn, who was encamped at the distance of six coss, to whom he offered much friendly advice for his conduct to his father, who was jealous of his loyalty When the news of the surrender of the citadel of Agra reached Bedar Bukht at * Dholepore, his spirit was broken, and the crimson of his hopes faded into pale despair I was with him at the time, and perceived that he regarded every thing as lost He immediately sent an account of the event to his father, who had not yet heard of Shaw Aulum's arrival at Muttra, as his weak servants, fearful of his displeasure, and the usual gross abuse, dared not to inform him At length Shaw Aulum made the proposal of a division of the empire, which was refused, and two days afterwards the conflict ensued, as abovementioned

Without doubt, Shaw Aulum's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister, yet he never set forth himself as having done any extraordinary service, but would often say to his majesty, that empire was the particular gift of God, and that no obligation could be

* A town on the bank of the Chumbul, in the province of Agra.

laid

laid on ſovereigns; ſo that, if any one thought himſelf conducive to their ſucceſs, it was, in them, vanity and folly. To me, from whom he kept not his inmoſt thoughts, he would ſay, "Kings, "through the blaze of ſplendor, cannot ſee impartially; therefore, "if *any perſon preſumes upon ſervices*, and would ſhew that he "thinks them an obligation on his maſter, the jealous diſpoſition "of royalty cannot bear it, and rejects the claim, as was clearly "proved in the proceedings of the emperor Mahummud Akber, "and [1] Beyram Khan, his aſſuming miniſter."

It is now neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the four ſons of Shaw Aulum, their diſpoſitions and behaviour, both in public and private.

[2] Moiz ad Dien Jehaundaur Shaw, the eldeſt, was a weak man, devoted to pleaſure, who gave himſelf no trouble about ſtate affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be ſeen when I come to relate his reign.

Azeem Ooſhawn, the ſecond ſon, was a ſtateſman of winning manners. Aulumgeer had always purſued the policy of encouraging his grandſons, and employing them in public affairs; for, as his ſons were ambitious, of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controuled them, by oppoſing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedar Bukht to Azim Shaw, and Azeem Ooſhawn to Shaw Aulum. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, from whence he had now come with a rich treaſure,

[1] Beyram Khan, on the death of Humaioon, became regent during the minority of Akber, who, at the age of ſeventeen, not chuſing longer to be governed by a ſubject, diſplaced him.

[2] Anglicè, Reſpecter of the faith.

and

and considerable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father, and dreaded as a rival: but to relate the causes would be useless prolixity.

[1] Ruffeh Ooshawn, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure, particularly fond of music, and the pomp of courtly shew. He paid no attention to public affairs, or even those of his own houshold.

[2] Khojesteh Akhter Jehaun Shaw had the greatest share of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne; after which, the whole administration of the empire was long influenced by him. He had the closest friendship and connection with Monauim Khan, who, by his interest, was appointed vizier.

When Shaw Aulum had reposed from the fatigues of war, he took measures to reduce Kaum Bukhsh, who had assumed the imperial titles in Dekkan. It was not supposed that he could make much opposition, but in the opinions of the wise and understanding prejudged, that his behaviour would of itself ruin him in that country.

Monauim Khan now called together, by attention and consoling behaviour, the unfortunate nobility of Azim Shaw, who had escaped from the late battle to different places. Zoolfeccar Khan had fled to his father, [3] Assud Khan, who had the charge of Azim

[1] Anglicè, Of high rank.
[2] Of happy star, king of the world.
[3] Anglicè, Lion.

Shaw's

Shaw's baggage in Gualiar. The vizier had taken pains to convince his maſter, that the ancient nobility were the pillars of the ſtate, and that the welfare of the empire depended on their perſons, whoſe anceſtors had held high offices, and acquired influence and reſpect with the people, ſo that it was proper and politic to employ them.

As the vizarut had been conferred on Monauim Khan, at his requeſt, the moſt dignified office of [1] vakeel muttulluk was entruſted to Aſſud Khan, and that of [2] meer bukſhi to his ſon Zoolfeccar Khan, with the title of Ameer al Amra. The ſecond bukhſhiſhip was conferred on Meerza [3] Shawnowaz Khan Suffawee. Monauim Khan, regardleſs of trifles, ſubmitted to ſit below Aſſud Khan in the divans, and to ſhew him every reſpect as his ſuperior in office. The government of all Dekkan was granted to the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who performed the duties by his deputy, Daood Khan Punnee, while he in perſon attended the court.

Monauim Khan, ſincerely loyal, generous in mind, and full of zeal for the ſervice of his maſter, never preferred the gratification of his own paſſions to the welfare of the ſtate, or honour of the ſovereign. He both adviſed and acted what was for his glory. For example, moſt of the ameers of Aulumgeer had accompanied Azim Shaw, and fought againſt Shaw Aulum in the late conteſt, conſequently were liable in juſtice to whatever evils or puniſhments he choſe to inflict upon them; but Monauim Khan became their general interceſſor, repreſenting to the emperor, that they were

[1] Anglicè, Univerſal agent. This is an office ſuperior to that of vizier. It is ſeldom filled up, but in time of great emergency; but it was lately conferred on the infant Peiſhwa, by his preſent majeſty of Dhely, though it cannot be conſidered now but as an empty honour. It ſeems to have been no more to Aſſud Khan.

[2] Chief paymaſter.

[3] Anglicè, Favoured by the king.

excuſable,

excusable, having only obeyed an heir who sat upon the throne, which, as affairs were circumstanced at that time, they could not avoid; that, after they had become his friends, [1] eaten of his salt, and made new compacts and declarations in addition to their former vows of allegiance, they could not in honour abuse his confidence by treachery or desertion. He observed, that the empire of Hindostan was a state not to be kept in order by one or two persons; that, like the magnificent pavilion of [2] Soleymaun, many strong pillars and powerful cords were required to support it, and keep it on a lasting footing; that the noble families, who from generation to generation had the benefit of experience, a knowledge of the customs of the empire and rules of government, were alone suited to high employments; that most of the present nobility had also held for many years important offices, and acquired wisdom and knowledge. *He said, that, if they were not still entrusted with* the posts of greatest confidence, there would not remain a possibility of supporting the rules of the empire, or obtaining able statesmen or good generals. He advised his majesty to reward amply those persons who had joined his standard from every quarter, and done good services, agreeable to their merits; but without exalting them beyond their abilities, observing that many of them had only been dependants on the princes and nobility, others again only servants to fojedaurs and governors of towns. Where then could they have acquired judgment in politics and knowledge of government, dignity of manner, or fortitude to support the power of command? He observed, that such accomplishments were inherent to noble birth and liberal education, the natural consequence of such advantage. Such was the vizier, of whose master (worthy of him) I now speak.

[1] This expression implies a very strong connection in the original idiom.

[2] According to Mahummedan tradition, Solomon had a very sumptuous pavilion made for him by the Genii.

 Shaw

Shaw Aulum was generous and merciful, of a great ſoul tempered with affability, diſcerning of merit. He had ſeen the ſtrict exerciſe of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been uſed to authority himſelf for the laſt fifty years. Time received a new luſtre from his acceſſion, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal, if not ſuperior, to their merits; ſo that the public forgot the excellencies and great qualities of Aulumgeer, which became abſorbed in the bounties of his ſucceſſor. Some narrow-hearted perſons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profuſion; but it is a fact, that the deſerving of every profeſſion, and worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which the eye of time prior to this had never ſeen, nor had ſuch been heard of before by the ears of fame. His perſonal qualities and perfections, ſpeech is unequal to relate. His valour was ſuch, that he had reſolved on meeting Azim Shaw, whoſe bravery was celebrated, in ſingle combat. His four ſons, poſſeſſed of great power and conſiderable force, he ſuffered conſtantly to be near his perſon, never giving himſelf a moment's ſuſpicion regarding them, nor preventing their forming connections with the prime nobility; upon which ſubject I, the humbleſt of his ſlaves, once ventured to preſent him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done ſo to Aulumgeer. To what I repreſented, he wrote a wiſe and juſt reply, which, by God's permiſſion, I will one time or other relate. He permitted the ſons of thoſe princes, who had fallen in battle againſt him, to appear at all times completely armed in his preſence. The infant children he let remain unmoleſted with their mothers, while thoſe arrived at manhood daily accompanied him in the chace, unguarded, and ſhared in all his diverſions. His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shaw Jehaun. Seventeen princes, his ſons, grandſons, and

 nephews,

nephews, ſat generally round his throne, in the manner following: —On his right hand, Jehaundaun Shaw, his eldeſt ſon, with his three ſons, his third ſon Ruffeh Ooſhawn with his three ſons, and Bedar Dil, ſon to his nephew Bedar Bukht. On his left, Mahummud Azeem Ooſhawn with his two ſons, and Jehaun Shaw with his ſon. [1] Ali Tibbar, the only ſurviving ſon of Azim Shaw, ſat on the right hand of Azeem Ooſhawn, and a little to the right, ſomewhat advanced, the two ſons of Mahummud Kaum Bukſh. Behind the royal princes, on the right, ſtood the ſons of conquered ſovereigns, as of Secunder Adil Shaw of Beejapore, and Koottub Shaw, king of Golconda; alſo a vaſt crowd of the nobility, from the rank of ſeven to three thouſand, ſuch as were allowed to be on the platform between the ſilver rails. How can I mention every particular of the ſplendid ſcene? On the [2] eeds, and other feſtivals, his majeſty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his preſence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dreſſes, and other favours, were truly royal. When in private, he dreſſed plain and humbly, like a religious, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himſelf, in the

[1] Anglicè, Of high deſcent.

[2] The Mahummedans have two grand eeds or holidays, one at the concluſion of the ramzaun, and the other on the anniverſary of the day on which Abraham conſented to ſacrifice his ſon. On theſe days, tents are pitched about a mile diſtant from the city, to which the emperor goes in great ſtate to pray, and on his return receives preſents from his ameers, on whom he confers honorary dreſſes according to rank. The ſame ceremony is obſerved in every town, by the governor. At the laſt eede, after prayers, a camel is ſacrificed, and a ſmall part of it dreſſed, and eaten on the ſpot by the emperor and his attendants. The cavalcades which I chanced to attend on each of theſe days, at Lucnow and Banaris, were very brilliant, and ſerved to give an idea of the aſtoniſhing ſplendor which muſt have graced theſe in the flouriſhing times of the empire. It is probable Mr. Zoffani may offer the public a view of the proceſſion at Lucnow, on the firſt eed in 1784, as he was preſent, and took a ſketch of it.

grand tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Koraun with a tone and ſweetneſs which captivated the moſt eloquent Arabians. He never miſſed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening, he had generally an aſſembly of the religious, or learned men. He himſelf related [1] traditions, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the holy laws. He had explored the different opinions of all ſects, read the works of all free-thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheſes of each. On this account, ſome over-ſtrict devotees accuſed him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his ſuperior abilities. I heard moſt of his tenets, and lamented the inſolence of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the ſun, how juſt and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a ſmall part; therefore I ſhall deſiſt, and now relate, as briefly as poſſible, the expedition of his majeſty to Dekkan, againſt the death-devoted Kaum Bukſh.

It has been already mentioned that the late emperor, a few days before his death, diſpatched Kaum Bukſh to Beejapore. This prince was of an excellent memory, learned, and a pleaſing writer, poſſeſſed of all outward accompliſhments in a high degree; but there was in his mind a flightineſs that approached near to inſanity. He ſeldom remained a month in his father's preſence, but, for ſome miſbehaviour, he was reproved, degraded, or confined; and ſome acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. When he arrived at Beejapore, he immediately proclaimed himſelf in the [2] khootba, and ſtruck coins in his own name. What follies

[1] Anecdotes and maxims of the prophet.

[2] The khootba is a form of prayer, in which the ſouls of all departed patriarchs and prophets are firſt prayed for, beginning with Adam, and ending with Mahummud. The ſouls of the reigning family's anceſtors are then recommended to mercy, and the whole

follies was he not guilty of, from the madneſs of his mind, and the confidence he put in lying viſionaries! Theſe wretches had hailed each of the princes with a prophecy of ſucceſſion to the throne, ſwearing they had converſations in their reveries with God, his prophet, and the pious ſaints, who had promiſed their aſſiſtance, ſo that human force was unneceſſary. They aſſured Kaum Bukſh, that he need not levy any troops for his ſupport; for, though an enemy ſhould march againſt him with all the myriads of [1] Tooi and Sullum, they would not dare to face his ſight, much leſs engage in battle. Flattered by this, and impelled by madneſs, the weak youth regarded himſelf as emperor, and invincible in his ſingle perſon; to prove which, he would often relate, in a raving manner, ſtrange prognoſtics and divine greetings ſhewn to himſelf. His prophets having told him, that his eldeſt ſon would alſo one time become emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated to put him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aulumgeer: however, he kept him conſtantly in confinement, miſerably clothed, and worſe fed than the ſon of a wretched beggar, which was worſe than death. From the ſame cauſe, on ill-placed ſuſpicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon puniſhments on the ladies of his haram, putting many of them privately to death. To his ſervants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing ſuch acts to them as before eye never ſaw, nor ear had heard.

Notwithſtanding theſe blots in his character, as he was a ſon of Aulumgeer, and that part of the empire had been given to him, at firſt moſt of the chiefs of Dekkan, whether Muſſulmauns or Hin-

whole concludes with a prayer for the proſperity of the monarch on the throne, and the welfare of his ſubjects. It is read every Friday in the ~~[illegible]~~ musjed jamée, or grand moſque of all towns, and on the eeds or grand feſtivals

[1] Two great hoſts, mentioned in the Korùn

lost. In a short time too, the chief zemindars of Dekkan, who had in general joined his standard, displeased at his conduct and heedless shedding of human blood, his inconstancy of mind and breach of treaties, left him, and retired to their own countries, where they took care to secure themselves, till the disputes for the throne should be decided.

Thus, though the pretensions of Kaum Buksh were of no great importance, yet he was a son of Aulumgeer, and claimed a right to the empire. The behaviour of Ghazee ad Dien Khan also demanded consideration. ([1]Ajeet Sing, hereditary zemindar of Jodepore, and Jey Sing, of Ambeer, did not shew that obedience and respect to the throne which had been observed by their ancestors, and meditated rebellion. All these circumstances made his majesty resolve on marching to Dekkan.) The [2]khan khanan opened a correspondence with Ghazee ad Dien Khan, to whom he gave much consolation, assurances of favour, and friendly advice. That experienced statesman, opening his eyes on the vicissitudes of life, saw it was his interest, if his majesty would forget the past, and not molest him in his fortune, to bend his head in submission; and retire from business to a life of devotion. His only son, [3]Cheen Koolich Khan, had long disagreed with him, and his brother, [4]Hamid Khan, whom he had appointed his deputy in command of the troops, had separated from him, and gone over to the presence. The Tooran chiefs of his houshold also, when they saw his fortunes on the decline, had left his service. All these events

[1] Son of the celebrated Jesswunt Sing, who acted so capital a part in the competitions of Aulumgeer and his brothers.

[2] Lord of Lords. Monauim Khan is meant by this title, which he received from Shaw Aulum.

[3] Anglicè, Sword-drawing lord. He was afterwards famous as Nizam al Mulluck.

[4] Anglicè, Assisting.

made

made him glad to embrace the promifes of the minifter, and thankfully accept the foubadaſy of Ahmedabad Guzarat. He accordingly croffed the Nerbudda, and left Dekkan without trouble, but his fears prevented his coming to the court. He had not been in that of Aulumgeer fince his lofs of fight, which that generous and forgiving prince, out of regard to his former fervices, and from motives of policy, had excufed.

Shaw Aulum began his march to Dekkan with an army fuperior to that of any of the former emperors, and a fplendor till now unfeen, having in his train all the princes, and a great concourfe of nobility of every rank. The prudent and able Monauim Khan took fuch meafures for the fupplies of this mighty force, exceeding Aulumgeer's by an hundred thoufand men, that the emperor had no trouble or difficulty, though only in the beginning of his reign, when the revenues of the provinces had not yet been received, nor refpect for the throne been properly impreffed in different quarters. When his majefty had arrived at Aurungabad, before he would advance towards Hyderabad, where the frantic Kaum Bukfh then was, he wrote him feveral kind letters and friendly admonitions, to this effect:—" Our ever-honoured father refigned to you only " Beejapore; but we give you, in addition, Hyderabad. Thefe " two extenfive countries, long famous for their great kings, pro- " ducing a revenue more than half of Hindoftan, we leave to you, " without interference or reluctance, and fhall efteem you dearer " than our own children. Think not then of contention, nor " confent to fhed the blood of the faithful, nor difturb the repofe " of our government. If you give the ear of acceptance to this " advice, we will farther confer upon you the nizamut of Dekkan, " if agreeable to you; and, after vifiting the facred tomb of our " father, we will return to Hindoftan."

There

There was no treachery or deceit in this generous offer, for Shaw Aulum always ſhewed tenderneſs, liberality and affection, in his conduct to his brothers. Kaum Bukſh, weak and ſelf-conceited as a child, bent on error, paid not the ſmalleſt attention to his brother, and continued to add freſh affronts to his authority. Rooſtum Dil Khan, Syef Khan of the Imperial ſervants, and others of no family or note, on whom he had beſtowed titles of nobility, with about twenty thouſand horſe and foot, were now with him, but, diſguſted at his behaviour, meditated opportunities to quit him. Monauim Khan, with his uſual prudence, had ſent them letters, aſſuring them of the emperor's forgiveneſs and favour; ſo that all, even to Meer Mullung, Kaum Bukſh's foſter-brother, had reſolved to come over, and embrace his protection; but the prince, ſuſpecting their intentions, put to death Rooſtum Dil Khan, Syef Khan, and Meer Mullung, and plundered their families of all they poſſeſſed, on the ſame day, and in the ſame place: He had after this no officer of conſequence with him, and his treaſure being expended, all his troops deſerted, except about ten thouſand of the worſt Dekkan horſe, and his ſmall artillery; yet he ſtill reſolved to hazard a battle. When Shaw Aulum arrived within twelve coſs of Hyderabad, the unfortunate Kaum Bukſh loſt daily his followers in crowds, and moſt of the zemindars of Dekkan retired to their homes; while the remainder mutinied for arrears, and hourly threatened to plunder his effects. Will it be believed, that he yet determined to reſiſt, and expected victory? He even quitted the aſylum of the city walls, and encamped upon a plain about the diſtance of three coſs, with his ſmall force, within ſight of the emperor's army; ſo great was his enthuſiaſtic belief in the prophecies of his deceiving, and perhaps ſelf-deceived, devotees.

Shaw Aulum, from compaſſion to his brother, and the hope of yet reducing him by gentle means, would not permit his troops to attack;

made him glad to embrace the promises of the minister, and thankfully accept the soubadary of Ahmedabad Guzarat. He accordingly crossed the Nerbudda, and left Dekkan without trouble, but his fears prevented his coming to the court. He had not been in that of Aulumgeer since his loss of sight, which that generous and forgiving prince, out of regard to his former services, and from motives of policy, had excused.

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attack; but Kaum Bukſh interpreted the inactivity of the Imperial army into fear, from his belief that the prophecies in his favour were now on the point of accompliſhment; for he had been aſſured by viſionaries, that, though alone, mighty hoſts would never prevail againſt him. Accordingly, though deſerted by almoſt all his followers, he yet obſtinately refuſed to pay allegiance to his brother. At length the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who had a keen enmity againſt the miſguided prince, and wiſhed to ſhew his zeal
A.H. 1120. A.C. 1708. for his new patron, reſolved to ſeize him. He accordingly obtained leave to march, under the pretence of reconnoitring the enemy, and moved towards him with his own followers, a diviſion from the troops of Monauim Khan, and a body of Mharattas under the chief Neema Sindia. The unfortunate prince prepared to withſtand ſuch ſuperior force; but, being charged at once on all ſides, was inſtantly deſerted by all his followers, except a few perſonal attendants. Notwithſtanding this, he continued, as long as he had ſtrength, to uſe his bow and arrows from his elephant, till at length he ſunk down on his ſeat, through loſs of blood from ſeveral wounds. He was then taken priſoner by Daood Khan, and carried to the prince Jehaun Shaw, who, with his brothers, had ſtood at ſome diſtance during this extraordinary ſkirmiſh.

The captive prince was conveyed immediately to the Imperial tents, and being laid upon a bed in the [1] tuſhbeh khaneh, near the private apartments, was viſited by his brother, the emperor, who endeavoured to comfort him by every expreſſion of affectionate concern. The phyſicians and ſurgeons alſo attended, but he would not allow his wounds to be dreſſed, though earneſtly entreated by his majeſty and his ſons. He ſpoke but little; but when the prince Ruffeh Ooſhawn tenderly aſked, why he had refuſed offers of

[1] An oratory, where prayers are ſaid.

favour,

favour, he replied, "His majesty was very gracious, but how "could I submit to meet him in any other way than this?" Upon Jehaun Shaw's repeating the question, he exclaimed, "I have "done wrong; do not you follow my example!" One of the princes asking him if he had more than a thousand followers when taken, he angrily answered, "No; but had there been less than "five hundred, I could with equal ease have brought myself here." He then turned to the emperor, and said, "There are, in a casket "upon my elephant, some jewels of our father and my own, of "which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this he grew faint, and languished in silence, without uttering a single groan, till nine at night, when he resigned his soul to the Creator of life. We are from God, and to God we must return.

When Shaw Aulum had thus successfully concluded the war with his brother, he did not chuse to remain longer in Dekkan, though the affairs of that country required much arrangement, to insure its future dependance on the empire. Perhaps he dreaded the fate of his father, who, after the reduction of Beejapore, Hyderabad, and the taking of Sambah, remained to finish some objects which then appeared easily attainable, but afterwards extended in such a chain, that he could not quit Dekkan for the remainder of his life. He had often lamented this necessity, and the relaxation which his absence occasioned in the government of Hindostan; and would frequently say to his confidants in private, "My disloyal "subjects have imposed upon me this play-thing, that they may "enjoy commands and honours." But I am wandering from my subject. Shaw Aulum, in the height of the rains, began his march from Hyderabad, leaving as deputy-governor of Dekkan, Daood Khan Punnee, a native of the country, and a nobleman of great military fame. When he recrossed the Nerbudda, it was intended to employ all the powers of government to settle, in a proper

manner, the Rajapoote countries, which had been disaffected ever since the accession of Aulumgeer; who, though offended at the behaviour of the rajas Ajeet Sing and Jey Sing, over whose territories he had appointed Imperial governors, yet was not able, from the wars in Dekkan, to punish them effectually. They had indeed visited Shaw Aulum, but had left his camp without permission, and now openly shewed their designs to struggle for independence, in close alliance with each other; to bind which, Jey Sing had espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing. At this crisis, intelligence arrived that the [1] Siks had risen in rebellion. This sect of infidels, known also by the names of Nannukkea and Gooroh, had long been established in the soubah of Lahore, by a teacher styled Nannuk. Of his descendants was the present chief, to whom had flocked great crowds of all ranks, resigning to his disposal, with blind fidelity, their lives and properties. Thus supported, he excited sedition, and took arms to extend his errors, and overturn the basis of the true faith. He engaged Vizier Khan, the fojedaur of [2] Sirhind, who was killed in the action, with numbers of his followers; after which the gooroh possessed himself of the town of Sirhind, and many districts of Doaub, as far as [3] Boreah, Saarunpore, and Shawdourah, on both banks of the river Jumnah, where he committed unlimited excesses, razing all public edifices, as mosques, colleges, mausoleums, and palaces, killing or taking prisoners the faithful of every age and sex, and plundering with the most cruel severity. The oppressions of these wretches were every day increasing, and there was no nobleman daring enough to march from Dhely against them. Asoph ad Dowlah Assud Khan, who governed that capital, shewing

[1] They now possess the provinces of Lahore, Multan, and part of Dhely, plundering as far south annually as Rohilcund.

[2] A considerable town, about fifty coss N. of Dhely.

[3] These districts are now held by Zabtah Khan, a Rohilla chief, who however pays a tribute to the Siks, and it is said has entered into their sect.

great ſigns of fear, the inhabitants were alarmed, and began to fly, with their families and effects, towards the eaſtern provinces, for ſhelter from the impending ſtorm. All this being repreſented to the emperor, in the higheſt colours, his majeſty thought it beſt to march in perſon againſt the inſurgents: for this reaſon, he reſolved for the preſent to lay aſide the deſign of totally expelling the rajapootes, and to confirm their allegiance, by winking at their offences, till a more convenient opportunity of puniſhment. Theſe zemindars had, for generations, been uſed to obey, and had not, in fact, either fortitude or ability to oppoſe openly the emperor of Hindoſtan, whoſe appearance againſt them in arms would have been ſufficient to curb their inſolence; but the khankhanan, alarmed at the inſurrection of the Siks, did not properly reflect on that circumſtance, and deſcended to ſhew the rajapootes ſuch favours as were inconſiſtent with good policy, as well as the dignity of the ſovereign: but he was not alone to blame, as there were other agents in this buſineſs. The four princes were conſtantly intriguing againſt each other, to obtain influence in the management of public affairs, which occaſioned much delay and confuſion in buſineſs, ſo that the khankhanan thought it happy to ſteer his veſſel ſafe through four ſuch [1]great ſeas; and could not act ſo independently for the public good as he wiſhed, being obliged to attend to the capricious intereſts of others, among which he found it difficult to preſerve his own. Among the remarkable occurrences of the expedition into Dekkan, was the decline of Jehaun Shaw's influence with his father, and the riſe of that of Azeem Ooſhaun, of whom till now the emperor had ever been ſuſpicious. The prince Jehaun Shaw was of haughty and independent ſpirit, ready to take fire on the ſmalleſt neglect. This, with the behaviour of his ſervants, alarmed and diſpleaſed the khankhanan, who, for his own ſafety, watched

[1] Meaning the power and influence of the four princes.

an opportunity to deſtroy his influence in public affairs: a taſk of no great difficulty, to one well acquainted with the diſpoſition of Shaw Aulum, almoſt equally warm with his ſon, who had more than once diſpleaſed him by his behaviour, ſo that he had expreſſed to him his diſſatisfaction. The prince, upon this, thought to prove his diſintereſtedneſs and independence, by neglecting to frequent the durbar, and engage in buſineſs as uſual. Azeem Ooſhawn, who had reaped experience in office, and was well verſed in the intrigues of a court, perceiving coolneſs taking place between Jehaun Shaw and the khankhanan, paid ſo much flattering attention to the latter, that by degrees he gained his confidence. This gave ſtill more offence to Jehaun Shaw, who had too much pride to expoſtulate, but neglected the miniſter in return. He ſoon after fell ſick, and his indiſpoſition continuing a long time, gave Azeem Ooſhawn ample opportunity of acquiring influence over Shaw Aulum, and the favourites whom his majeſty truſted with the fulleſt confidence; *while he continued to be pleaſed with them, but, on the ſmalleſt diſguſt, or in their ſhorteſt abſence, he forgot them altogether.*

Azeem Ooſhawn having thus gained the credit he aimed at with his father and the miniſter, employed it in ſoftening the rigour of government againſt thoſe who laboured under its diſpleaſure; thinking that, thus obliged by his mediation, they would readily return his favours, by embracing his cauſe, whenever the death of his father ſhould give him a claim to the empire. It was from this hope, that he adviſed indulgence to the refractory rajas, and condeſcended to repair to their camp, and conduct them from thence to his father, permitting them to be accompanied by all their troops armed. Such unuſual indulgence was far from anſwering the end expected by the prince, who ſhould have ſeen, that it could only tend to diſplay publickly the fears of government, and conſequently

muſt

muſt reflect diſhonour on its adviſer, and render him weak in the eyes even of thoſe to whom ſuch uncommon honours were allowed. In ſhort, the two rajas, attended by all their followers, paid their reſpects to his majeſty on the line of march, were gratified with his aſſent to whatever their inſolence demanded, and diſmiſſed to their homes with rich preſents and aſſurances of favour.

When this affair was finiſhed, the emperor marched without delay towards Lahore, not even ſtopping to make an entrance either at Agra or Dhely. In a ſhort time he arrived at Sirhind, which the rebels deſerted on his approach, and retired to [1] Daber, the original reſidence of their goorroh or chief, where they fortified themſelves as ſtrongly as poſſible. Though this inſurrection was not of ſuch importance as to diſturb the general repoſe of the empire, yet his majeſty, defender of the faith, hearing that the malice of the rebels was directed at religion, thought it his duty to go againſt them in perſon; in this, copying the example of Aulumgeer, who, in the latter part of his reign, appeared at the ſiege of every fort belonging to unbelievers; otherwiſe, what ability had a wretched and infatuated rabble to dare the preſence of ſuch a glorious monarch? The exertions of one of the principal ameers, or, at all events, of the princes, would have been equal to the extinction of the rebellion, and exploſion of the ſchiſm.

The imperial army ſoon arrived within ſight of the goorroh's *camp, which lay round the walls of Daber on different heights*, commanding the paſſes to that fortreſs, ſituated on a ſummit, ſurrounded by hollows, craggy rocks, and deep paths. Shaw Aulum had reſolved to lie inactive before the enemy for ſome time, in hopes by this to render them confident, and tempt them to an

[1] At the entrance of the Sewalic mountains, which connect Hindoſtan with Thibet.

engagement;

engagement; on which account he issued positive orders to the princes and all the ameers, not to advance nearer the goorroh's lines on any pretence, however favourable. Some days passed in inactivity, when at length the khankhanan entreated permission of his majesty to advance, with his own followers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position: which was granted, on condition that he should not commence an attack without further orders from the presence. However, when he had arrived within shot of their lines, the enemy began a warm cannonade from their works, while bodies of their infantry on the heights galled him with rockets, musquetry, and arrows. His soldiers, enraged, were not now to be restrained; and the khankhanan, more jealous of his military fame than fearful of the emperor's displeasure, ventured for once to disobey, by giving directions to attack. He dismounted from his horse, and led his brave troops on foot up the most difficult heights, driving the rebels from them with the greatest rapidity and success. This scene passing within sight of the royal camp, the chiefs and soldiers, emulous of glory, waited not for orders, but hastened to join the attack in great numbers; while the emperor and the four princes viewed the fight from the squares of their encampments, with a mixture of anger and satisfaction. At last the enemy were driven from all their works, to the narrow summit round the fort of Daber, where they continued to defend themselves in a desperate manner, but without even the hope of escape from general slaughter; when night coming on, rendered friends and foes undistinguishable to each other. The khankhanan, sure of having the goorroh in his power, gave orders for his troops to cease the attack, and lie upon their arms in their present position, till the morning should enable him to finish it with success. He had, however, unluckily neglected to block up a narrow path leading from the fort to the hills, either because he had not perceived it, or was satisfied that it could not lead but to where the Imperial troops were posted.

posted. The goorroh, a man of great art, generally appeared in the dress and splendor of a prince, when he wished to be public; but, if occasion required privacy, he disguised himself in the habit of [1] a jogie or synassee, in such a manner, that few, even among his own people, could know him. During the night, he, without acquainting his followers of his intentions, changed his habit, and left the fort undiscovered. The khankhanan, about dawn, renewed the attack, and gained the place, after a short struggle, sword in hand, exulting in the certainty of carrying the goorroh dead or alive to the emperor, whose displeasure at his disobedience of orders, would by this service be changed to approbation: but who can relate his weight of grief and disappointment, at finding that his promised prize had escaped, without leaving a trace behind him? The goorroh's speed of foot was uncommon, and he only acquainted with the paths and mazes through the hills that led to the snowy mountains, which he had marked for shelter. The khankhanan lost for an instant almost the use of his faculties, which were absorbed in dread of the emperor's anger, not without reason. As he was, agreeable to custom after an important victory, beating the march of triumph in his way to the royal tents, orders arrived, commanding him to stop the drums, and not dare to enter the presence. He retired, drowned in despair, to his own tents; where he had the cruel mortification of learning every instant, from messengers, that his enemies exulted in his fall from favour, and openly condemned his conduct with malicious zeal in the presence of his majesty, who was highly enraged against him. But though this did not continue long, and Shaw Aulum, regarding his former services, received him again into favour, after a few days, yet this noble and faithful minister never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude. This grief, added to the pain he

[1] Sects of fakeers, or religious mendicants.

felt

ſtarted up, and retired with ſuch precipitation, that he ſtruck the turban from his head againſt the door of the tent, forgot his ſlippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being aſſiſted to riſe and adjuſt his dreſs by his ſervants, who were aſtoniſhed at his ſtrange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with all the ſpeed and hurry poſſible. This occaſioned much alarm in the camp, and I, among many others, haſtened towards the [1]durbar. I met the prince, with his attendants, puſhing on his elephant with frantic haſte; upon obſerving which, I endeavoured to paſs unobſerved; but he knew me, and ſent a meſſenger to call me to him. As I had previouſly attached myſelf to Azeem Ooſhawn, I did not obey the mandate, but paſſed on to the emperor's tents, where I ſat down in the guard-room of [2]Mahabut Khan, third bukſhi, which was cloſe to that of the ameer al amra, who did duty there in perſon. He ſent for me, and I found with him Mirza Shaw-nowaz Khan Suffawee. I had before intereſted myſelf, at the deſire of both, in bringing about a connection between Azeem Ooſhawn and the ameer al amra; for which purpoſe I had employed Shekh [3]Coodderut Oolla as a meſſenger, and ſometimes my grandſon, [4]Einaiut Oolla. The ameer al amra now deſired me to ſend the latter to Azeem Ooſhawn, to aſk him how he could ſerve him on the preſent occaſion. I ſent him, but he returned with a reply laconic and ſlight, as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of an hundred. It was written in Shekh Coodderut Oolla's (confidant to the prince) own hand, as follows: "As "the Imperial ſervants can know no place of ſupport but this "court, and moſt have already repaired to it, the ameer al amra "may alſo pay his duty, with aſſurance of a gracious reception,

[1] The court of the emperor, or any other perſon in high authority.
[2] Anglicè, Commanding awe.
[3] Anglicè, Providence of God.
[4] Gift of God.

the royal artillery. He had, besides, a very considerable army in his own pay; so that his brothers, though all leagued against him, would have formed but a weak enemy, if he had immediately attacked them. But he acted otherwise: he encamped on the plain, keeping the river to his rear, and began to throw up works to defend himself, instead of courting a general action. Probably this proceeded from tenderness to his brothers, who he thought would in a few days be deserted by their troops, for want of pay, as they possessed little or no money; and that they would either willingly acknowledge him emperor, to obtain settlements, or be delivered into his hands by some of their pretended friends, to gain his favour.

While he thus flattered himself with an easy conquest, the three brothers, by the advice of the ameer al amra, drew all the artillery from the fort of Lahore, and encamped their united forces in one line, making the city their defence to the rear. I happened to be encamped near Mahabut Khan, who immediately, on learning that the ameer al amra had attached himself to Moiz ad Dien, fearing to be plundered by his troops, lost no time in moving off with his family and effects to Azeem Ooshawn, leaving his tents and temporary buildings standing. No sooner was he gone, than the rabble took possession of his camp, which they set on fire, and levelled in an instant with the ground. As, on many accounts, I had resolved to embrace the fortunes of Azeem Ooshawn, I would have gone with him; but the camp being a *standing one*, I had neglected my tents, parted with my carriages, and erected temporary sheds for my family, so that I was obliged to remain in an alarming situation, almost alone, for four days. I wished to send my women to my house in the city; but the road to it led through the allied armies, where it was probable they might be insulted or plundered. On the fifth day, I was eased of my fears, as a strong

 escort

escort came from the prince Azeem Ooshawn to conduct to him Shaw-nowaz Khan, Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and some other noblemen, who waited for this security to join him. With them I reached his camp in safety, where I happily got possession of a square walled about, but without any covering or shade: yet even this was as a palace at the time, as it served to protect my women and family. I now paid my respects to the prince, who received me graciously, conferred upon me many favours, and consulted me on all important occasions. Pecuniary rewards, and titles far above my ambition, were allotted for me, and getting ready to pass the seals: at the same time, orders were dispatched to summon my son, [1] Hoshe-dar Khan, to the presence, from which he had been detached some time before on actual service, with a select force; and, to pay him, a large sum of money was sent to me. I refused it, however, as I had not people to secure its safety; and requested also, that the rank of five thousand, and title of Azim Khan, which was preparing for me, might not be confirmed, till the prince should become victorious over his enemies, as I had made a vow not to receive them till he should sit unrivalled on the throne of empire. In fact, I perceived in his weak politics, and want of resolution, the decline of his cause; and saw the burning blasts of summer hastening to destroy the season of spring, as the experienced husbandman can judge of his harvests from the changes of the atmosphere.

When Azeem Ooshawn had intrenched himself, and the three brothers began their approaches to his works on every side, his operations became highly blameable in the eyes of the nobility and officers of experience. It appeared to the public, that the superior force dreaded the inferior; and that those who ought to be the

[1] Anglicè, Endowed with judgment.

besiegers,

besiegers, were now the besieged. Such was the effect, for Azeem Ooshawn's army grew dispirited daily, while the enemy's gained ardor every hour, at finding that prospect of success, of which in the beginning they had almost despaired. Our soldiers at the works, tired with constant watchings and alarms, grew remiss in their duty: they first required unnecessary assistance, and at last began to desert their posts. The Imperial artillery, to whom a great sum of money had been given as a bounty, became disobedient to orders, and even mutinous, in which points they were followed by those of the houshold. This behaviour made Azeem Ooshawn change his opinion, that he could purchase victory with money only; so that he opened his treasury but sparingly to the old or new troops, giving, with much reluctance, only one hundred rupees to each trooper who came to offer service with his own horse, for which security was also demanded. At a crisis of this important nature, but few were tempted to quit the service of their old masters, for a sum but inconsiderable in itself, and only attainable with such difficulty. In short, the whole camp began to be alarmed, and even the boldest officers to feel a dread of the ill consequences of being cooped up in unnecessary entrenchments. A cannonade was kept up on both sides for four days, in each of which the three brothers gained some advantage, by advancing their stations nearer to the works of the misguided Azeem Ooshawn.

On the fifth day, Azeem Ooshawn moved from his camp in order of battle, and his son, the prince [a]Mahummud Kerreem, though commander of the advanced corps, was with him, instead of being dispatched in front, agreeably to the usual disposition of the line. This was ordered, lest, as the enemy were formed into three bodies, one might gain an advantage over him, and another

[a] Anglicè, favoured by Mahummud.

intercept

intercept his retreat to the grand line, before he could receive proper aſſiſtance. Such was the confuſion in forming the troops, that the artillery was quite uſeleſsly diſpoſed, and many pieces, deſerted by the men, lay overturned on the ground; while ſome of the chief officers were by their followers left almoſt alone, on their elephants, before the action began. Soleyman Khan Afghan firſt advanced to charge the diviſion of Jehaun Shaw, but he was ſupported by ſo few of his followers, that he could effect nothing, and was killed in the onſet, before he had reached the enemy's poſt. Jehaun Shaw moved ſteadily, in ſlow order, towards Azeem Ooſhawn, whoſe terrified troops began to fall back from around him. The miſconducted, but truly brave prince, when he ſaw his fortune thus unfavourable, though he might have ſaved himſelf by mounting a horſe and flying from the field, yet ſcorned to owe his ſecurity to diſhonour, and would not move from his elephant, but advanced almoſt alone towards Jehaun Shaw. This action, and ſubmitting to be ſacrificed, was one and the ſame. His elephant driver was killed in the inſtant, and the few till then remaining friends to his perſon deſerted him to a man. He received many wounds from arrows and ſhot, ſo that he ſoon ſunk down fainting upon his ſeat; while his elephant, without a driver, and furious with pain, ran through the enemy, who purſued him in vain for ſome hours, and during that time the unfortunate prince died of fatigue and loſs of blood[1]. Sultaun Mahummud Kerreem, his ſon, in the height of the confuſion, threw himſelf without hurt from his elephant, and mounting a horſe brought him by an attendant, eſcaped from the field of battle; but only to ſuffer, ſhortly after, a worſe fate than dying in action.

[1] Ameen ad Dien Sumbullee ſays, his elephant ruſhed with him into the Rawee, and was drowned.

It happened that, at the beginning of the action, the three princes were drawn up nearly opposite that part of the camp where I unfortunately had placed my family in a wretched square, to which the enemy advanced still nearer, as the battle raged, and our troops began to fly. Mahabut Khan, Hummeed ad Dien, and other lords, had in the beginning sent their families across the river to places of safety, which precaution I was prevented from using, by being attendant on Azeem Ooshawn's person in the line. The river was about a rocket's flight from the square inclosure, and upon the rout of our line, Khan Zummaun, my friend, advised me, while the enemy's troops were yet employed in fight, to conduct my women out of danger to the other side; at the same time offering me a boat he had ready for his own security against pursuit, and a guard of one hundred and fifty persons, his own followers. Accordingly I placed my wife and daughter in two covered pallekees, with a sum somewhat exceeding * four thousand gold mhors, a casket of jewels, betel plate of gold set with jewels, and other very valuable ornaments belonging to my daughter, designed for her marriage portion, leaving clothes and every thing else to chance. As Providence decreed it, the women's pallekees had just arrived at a narrow inlet of water, about an arrow's flight from the river, when Azeem Ooshawn's elephant, and Mahummud Kerreem's; were running towards it, pursued by the enemy. I was advanced a little in front to prepare the boat, when suddenly one of my attendants cried out, "Where are you going? Your honour is "ruined!" I looked behind me, and saw the enemy near my women; upon which, in a state of furious despair, I hastened back with my grandson Meer Einaiut Oolla, as Khan Zummaun's people could not reach me in time for my assistance. We two had just joined the women, when the rapacious Moguls had begun to

* About six thousand pounds sterling, reckoning the mhor at fifteen Sicca rupees.

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plunder; upon which I leaped from my horſe, and ſeizing my wife and daughter by each a hand, ruſhed with them into the rivulet up to their waiſts, and covered the reſt of their perſons with a cloth, drawing my ſword to defend them with my life from further inſult: and, luckily for my honour, their faces were not ſeen by the eyes of a ſtranger. The Moguls, more attentive to gain than ſhedding of blood, after plundering the pallekees and other carriages of every thing, even to the coarſeſt outer coverings, rode off in ſearch of other prey, without attacking me or my attendants, who were hid in different buſhes and hollows. It was during this confuſion, that I ſaw the prince Mahummud Kerreem jump from his elephant, mount a ſervant's horſe, and eſcape. When the alarm was over, and friends and enemies had paſſed by, I was joined by my ſervants from their various ſhelters, and, having replaced my women in the pallekees, returned to my late miſerable dwelling, which had been alſo plundered, even to foot-cloths and carpets. No pillows or ſeats were left us but the bare ground, and no apparel but that drenched in water on our backs; neverthleſs, I gave grateful thanks to the Almighty for the preſervation of my life and honour, with a ſincere fervor. With the approach of night the confuſion ſlackened, and about nine o'clock all was over, and quiet reſtored. I then ſaid to myſelf, "What is gone, is gone!" and, with a calm mind, recited one hundred and twenty verſes of the [a] Meſnavi, beſides an ode applicable to the preſent ſtate of affairs.

The prince Jehaun Shaw, who had taken poſſeſſion of the camp of the vanquiſhed, in the morning ſent covered carriages and other neceſſaries to me, with a gracious meſſage, deſiring that I would come, and pitch my tents near his own. I went accordingly, and was introduced to him. He was ſitting alone, under a canopy,

[a] The Meſnavi is a collection of moral poems, by Molewee Jellal ad Dien Roomi.

near

near his private apartments. When he saw me, he exclaimed, in a joyful voice, "Come, [1]Azim Khan, for thy arrival is at a happy "season! I was anxious to see thee." He then took off the khelaut, which he had put on just before, and gave it to me, with the munsub of [2]six thousand, saying, "I have left one degree of rank "to confer upon you on the day of my accession to a throne." After which he dismissed me in a gracious manner, and I took up my station near that of [3]Lutfoolla Khan Saduk, his first minister.

Jehaun Shaw, who had gained the victory over Azeem Ooshawn, judging, from the purity of his own intentions, that those of his two brothers and the ameer al amra were equally just towards him, though fortune had placed all the treasures of the vanquished in his power, scorned to use this advantage, contrary to his oath of alliance. He sent the body of Azeem Ooshawn to Moiz ad Dien; and, when all the plunder of his camp was collected, delivered the whole without delay into the hands of the ameer al amra, who, agreeable to treaty and his own oaths, was to make an impartial division of the provinces and treasures between the brothers. This strictness to his word was the cause of his ruin. The ameer al amra had privately resolved to seat Moiz ad Dien on the throne without a rival, as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited to the purpose of a minister ambitious of uncontrouled power. With this view, he, on various pretences, delayed making a division of the treasure, knowing that the troops of Jehaun Shaw and Russeh Ooshawn were already mutinously clamorous for the payment of their long arrears, and much

[1] Anglicè, Noble lord; the title which Azeem Ooshawn had offered to confer on him.

[2] Seven thousand was properly the highest rank of nobility. In the decline of the empire, rank of eight and ten thousand was conferred on powerful ministers.

[3] Anglicè, God's mercy. Saduk, Anglicè True, was his family name.

 disgusted

diſguſted at being deprived of the great plunder they had expected from the camp of Azeem Ooſhawn, which had been ſeized from their graſp by the ſtrict diſcipline and honour of Jehaun Shaw. The ameer al amra, with ſeeming attachment, viſited the princes as uſual, and three days paſſed over without their expreſſing diſtruſt at his delay; but their friends clearly ſaw his deſigns, and warned Jehaun Shaw againſt his treachery; offering to prevent their completion, by putting him to death, when he ſhould come next to pay his reſpects. The honourable and noble-minded prince refuſed his aſſent to ſuch propoſals, ſaying, "I cannot conſent to ſuch "diſhonourable and perfidious dealing, for which I ſhould become "heinouſly guilty in the eyes of God, and amongſt men marked "as a traitor and abuſer of power. If empire is decreed me, I "ſhall attain it without trouble; but, if not, of what avail is "treachery, or unjuſt ſhedding of human blood?" At his next viſit, he openly told the ameer al amra the ſuſpicions entertained of his conduct, ſaying, "*Even now, perhaps, thy family is dreading* "that I may be putting thee to death; which, however politic, I "ſcorn to do by fraud. Riſe then, and go in peace to thine own "houſe." The ameer al amra departed with a ſpeed and precipitation declaring his guilt. The veil, with which he had covered his deſigns, became no longer of uſe; but, inſtead of feeling gratitude to Jehaun Shaw for ſuffering him to live, his enmity increaſed. He now openly avowed his deſtruction, and his intentions to ſupport Moiz ad Dien. Though Jehaun Shaw, virtuous and religiouſly faithful to his word, was generous and juſt in this great action, yet the policy of government will not admit of ſuch conduct being copied as an example of propriety. The world is deceitful, and cannot be commanded but by deceit. The thief, who ſhould wake his ſleeping prey, would only bring ruin on his own head. Virtue and vice being direct oppoſit[illegible] nnot exiſt in one dwelling. That, the fou[illegible] f which is [illegible] ot be ſupported but by evil. [illegible] When

When the ameer al amra had openly refused to perform his agreement, Jehaun Shaw, furious at his behaviour, moved his camp opposite to the treacherous nobleman's, and prepared to offer battle without delay. He had just now the fairest prospect of every success; a fine army, attached to his person with one mind, good artillery, and a great character among his own and the enemy's troops. But—how uncertain is fortune! This night, by permission of God, a fire broke out in the artillery camp: all the rockets and stores of ammunition were destroyed, and our army rendered in one instant totally useless. The merit of this important mischief was afterwards claimed by Rajee Khan Maneckporee, who said the fire was purposely kindled by his spies, for a large bribe. This man was originally of low character and little esteem, but for this service he was gradually raised from a post in the artillery, by Moiz ad Dien, to the rank of six thousand. Immediately after this dreadful accident, Rooſtum Dil Khan and Mukhlis Khan hastened to one of the Imperial powder-works, and obtained some fresh supplies; but the troops, much dispirited with their loss, now became clamorous for money, and began to desert in great numbers. In short, the spirit of the army was changed, so that, excepting Lutfoolla Khan, Rooſtum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and a few others who remained faithful, all the chiefs forfeited their honours, and Jehaun Shaw, plainly perceiving the wavering of his followers, thought it most advisable to prevent worse consequences, by putting all to the hazard of an immediate engagement. The next morning at the dawn of day, (being Monday, *anno* 1124,) he formed his A.C line, and began a cannonade, which was answered by the enemy, and kept up on both sides till mid-day with equal success. At length the fire of Jehaun Shaw began to slacken, and his troops to separate on various pretences, as want of water, guarding their baggage, and the like; so that near half the army deserted gradually, in spite of the prince's repeated orders to maintain the line.

 Observing

Obſerving this, he raiſed a report that the ameer al amra was killed by a ſhot, in conſequence of which the enemy were alarmed, and that he ſhould immediately charge them, in order to improve ſo favourable an event. As he ſounded the march of victory, his troops believed him, and returned moſt of them to their poſts. He then commanded Janee Khan, Rooſtum Dil Khan, and Mukhlis Khan, to charge one flank of the enemy, and Lootfulla Khan and others in front, he himſelf heading this laſt diviſion. It was now about four o'clock, when Jehaun Shaw, without looking behind him to ſee how he was ſupported by his troops, advanced on the enemy's center with a furious ſpeed, where the ameer al amra was ſtanding with a few followers, to reconnoitre. Moiz ad Dien had before retired to repoſe in his tents. Rooſtum Dil Khan and other chiefs ruſhed through all oppoſition to that quarter, gained the tents, and plundered even the ladies of the haram, among whom were many belonging to the late emperor. Moiz ad Dien, rouzed from ſleep, without regarding their ſafety, fled to ſeek his own, undreſſed as he was, with the ameer al amra, who was engaged againſt Jehaun Shaw in unequal combat, as he had only with him three or four hundred horſe. At this time Ruffeh Ooſhawn, who ſeemingly ſupported Moiz ad Dien, but was waiting for an opportunity to deſtroy both him and Jehaun Shaw, appeared in the rear of the latter with his whole force. A corps of infantry alſo now oppoſed him in front, not only ſtopping his charge, but confuſing his troops; who, ſeeing themſelves likely to be ſurrounded, loſt all ſpirit, and fled to a man on the right and left, leaving him expoſed alone upon his elephant: and he was ſoon killed by a muſquet ſhot. His ſon, [1] Ferkhundeh Akhter, a prince of moſt promiſing bodily and mental accompliſhments, who ſat behind him, deſcended and fought with his ſcymetar, till he could ſtand no longer, and then fell down dead, covered with wounds. Both the bodies were

[1] Anglicè, Of fortunate ſtar.

carried

carried immediately to the ameer al amra, who ordered the march of victory to be founded. Jehaun Shaw, heroic, juft and benevolent, was all perfect; but ftill, as Providence oppofed his fortune, all his plans turned out directly contrary to their propofed end, and what feemed to promife fuccefs, became the caufe of misfortune. Men judge vainly from events, faying, if he had not done fo, thus would or could not have happened: but, alas! in whofe power are events? Our faculties, our ftrength, our thoughts, our friends, are all moved by the inftigation of Providence. Nothing can happen without a caufe, yet our ruin is often brought on by the very caufes which had before occafioned our fuccefs; for God doeth that which pleafeth him, and effecteth that which he hath defigned.

When the day of this fun of royalty had funk in the evening of death, there now remained no other rivals than Moiz ad Dien and Ruffeh Oofhawn. The latter had the firmeft reliance on the attachment and oaths of the ameer al amra, who, during the life of the late emperor, had been fupported by him in the ftrongeft manner againft the khankhanan. He alfo had honoured him, at his own requeft, by the appellation of uncle, and *exchange of turbans; fo that he now hoped, as one fovereign feemed to be his choice, that it might reft upon him, in preference to his elder brother. On this account, he had refolved to wait as a fpectator of the ftruggle, till the fall of one of his rivals, and then to rufh upon the furvivor, while flufhed with victory, and unguarded againft a new enemy. This defign he now communicated to *his followers*, and defired them to fupport him in an immediate attack on Moiz ad Dien; but they would not confent, either through fear or treachery, pretending that the dawn of morning was more favour-

* The exchange of turbans, among the orientals, is the moft facred pledge of friendfhip, and any breach of it, after fuch ceremony, regarded with horror.

able than the present instant; so that the prince was obliged to stop, and wait their pleasure. He spent the night under arms, with sleepless impatience for the return of day; but some of his false advisers communicated his plan to the ameer al amra, and promised to assist in the destruction of their patron.

Just as the morning was beginning to appear, Ruffeh Ooshawn advanced silently towards the enemy, hoping to surprize them; but, before he had reached their camp, the commanding officer of his artillery, either through treachery or ignorance, fired a gun towards the quarter of Moiz ad Dien, which roused his sleeping troops. The alarm was immediately sounded, and the enemy's cannon soon began to play furiously. Who now would stand to support Ruffeh Ooshawn? The greatest number of his followers fled in confusion to the right and left, while Buddukshee, a chief in whom he had reposed the greatest confidence, and whom he had saved from being put to death by his father, whom he had raised to honours, and supported with a liberality unbounded, having privately agreed with the ameer al amra, ungratefully turned his arms against him at this instant. The unhappy prince was in a short time left alone, surrounded by his enemies on every side; but truly brave and spirited, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, he threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the sabre of glory from the scabbard of honour, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, more than sell one life at the expence of many? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. May the Almighty shew mercy to his soul! We are from God, and to him we must return.

Such courage, I must with justice remark, never appeared among the descendants of Timur, as shewn by the offspring of Aulumgeer; nor

authority in the ſtate; and high offices, great titles, and unreaſonable grants from the Imperial domains, were ſhowered profuſely on beggarly muſicians. [1] Two crores of rupees annually were ſettled for the houſhold expences of the miſtreſs only, excluſive of her cloaths and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchaſed, agreeable to whim, ſometimes jewels, gold, ſilks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the moſt trifling articles. A woman named [2] Zohera, keeper of a green-ſtall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a ſuitable jaghire, and

[1] About two millions ſterling

[2] The celebrated Nizam al Mulluk, who at this time lived a very retired life at Dhely, was one day paſſing in a pallekee, with only a few attendants, when, in a narrow ſtreet, he was met by Zohera, who was riding on an elephant, with a great train of ſervants. The nizam endeavoured to get out of the way, but, notwithſtanding this, Zohera's ſervants were inſolent to his attendants, and, as ſhe paſſed by, ſhe exclaimed, "Are you the ſon of the blind man?" This enraged the nizam, who commanded his people to pull her from her elephant; which they did, with rudeneſs. She complained to the miſtreſs, who prevailed on the weak Jehaundar to take notice of it, and command Zoolfeccar Khan to puniſh the nizam The nizam had ſuſpected this to happen, and had informed the miniſter of the affair. When Jehaundar Shaw ſpoke to him, he was anſwered, that, to puniſh the nizam for having corrected an inſolent upſtart, would enrage all the nobility, who would conſider the honour of the order as hurt by any affront to the nizam. Jehaundar, upon this, did not enforce his commands.

Upon Jehaundar Shaw's promoting one of his miſtreſs's relations, a muſician, to a high rank, Zoolfeccar Khan, ameer al amra, out of ſneer, demanded of the new-made lord, as a fee for putting his ſeal of office to the patent, one thouſand ſmall tabors The muſician complained to Lall Koor, his patroneſs, of the indignity offered him; and ſhe told the emperor, inſiſting that he ſhould reprimand the ameer al amra. Jehaundar Shaw accordingly reproached the miniſter, who ironically replied, that, as muſic was the beſt recommendation with his majeſty for promotion, he had aſked the tabors to deliver out to perſons of family, that they might, by practiſing upon them, qualify themſelves for high office, and ſucceed as well as their inferiors, the muſicians Jehaundar Shaw felt the force of the ſatire, and, being afraid of his miniſter, withdrew the patent.

 her

her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to the present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the Imperial palace, so that to pass through the street where they resided was a matter of difficulty, by reason of the throng. To do them justice, many of them had generous minds, and performed various good actions in the use of their influence at court. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a pitch, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace. This scandalous event afforded matter of offence to all good subjects, but of mirth and laughter to the weak Jehaundar and his abandoned favourites. He after this still more exposed his vices to the public, often, as he passed through the streets, seizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradesmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar superstition,

ſuperſtition, he bathed with Lall Koor, concealed only by a ſingle cloth, in the fountain of the [1] Lamp of Dhely, in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy. Happy was the day in which he was bathed in his own blood! The miſtreſs had the inſolence to abuſe the princeſs [2] Zebe al Niſſa, daughter of the emperor Aulumgeer, and aunt to Jehaundar Shaw, with expreſſions ſo vile as were unbecoming the meaneſt perſon. This princeſs had neglected to pay compliments to her, which ſhe received from other ladies of rank, and Lall Koor, enraged at this, teized the emperor to reprove his aunt, and oblige her to ſhew attention towards her; but all was vain. However, he ſo far complied with her unreaſonable entreaties, that he left off viſiting the princeſs, and declined going to an entertainment ſhe had prepared for him, without inviting Lall Koor! How ſhall I relate all his follies? The abovementioned are ſufficient to ſhew the ſad changes of affairs, public and private. His other indecencies are too unworthy of record to relate.

The ameer al amra, Zoolfeccar Khan, ſeater, nay even creator of emperors, with ſuch an image of humanity in his hands, became abſolute, and ſo proud, that [3] Pharaoh and Shudad could not have obtained admiſſion to his threſhold. He ſtudied to ruin the moſt ancient families, inventing pretences to put them to death, or diſgrace them, that he might plunder their poſſeſſions. Unhappy was the perſon he ſuſpected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accuſations always accompanied each other. He eſtabliſhed ſuch exactions and abuſes as no prior age had beheld, and by which now he is alone remembered. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himſelf, while he diſpoſed of money to others with a

[1] A celebrated fakeer ſo entitled.
[2] Anglicè, Ornament of the ſex.
[3] Pharaoh, and a king of Yemen, or Arabia Felix.

 hand

hand so sparing, that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed jaghires to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near or distant, friends or strangers, were turned against him, and wished his destruction. Hindoos and Mussulmans agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches of an hundred years.

Kokultash Khan, foster-brother to the emperor, and brought up with him from his childhood, was honoured with the title of Khan Jehaun. His wife, daughter, and whole family, also possessed great influence with the emperor, and claimed from him performance of a promise he had made to them of the vizurut. At the same time, they and their adherents combined to work the overthrow of the ameer al amra. With this view, all their relations and dependants were raised to high rank; and a great number of the nobility, distressed by the pride and rapacity of Zoolfeccar Khan, joined their party. They insinuated to the emperor, that the ameer al amra entertained designs too ambitious for a subject, to attain which he would dare to shed the blood of princes; that he had already determined on a revolution, and either to seize the throne for himself, or, if he found that too dangerous, to bestow it on [1] Ali Tibbar, or another of the confined princes, more favourable to his will than his majesty.

The weak Jehaundar, unendowed with the least judgment or courage, was alarmed almost to madness with the frightful picture of his own situation; but he had not firmness to oppose the dreaded evils, nor sense to keep his fears secret. The intrigues of Kokultash Khan soon became evident to the whole court, and only served to awaken the vigilance of the ameer al amra, who took measures

[1] The only surviving son of Azim Shaw, son of the emperor Aurungzebe.

for

for his own ſafety, by removing his enemies. Rooſtum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and ſome others, were put to death, and a great number of the nobility laid under confinement on various pretences. The family of the late [1] Khankhanan was reduced ſo low as to want the common neceſſaries of life. In ſhort, the diſpoſition of the ameer al amra changed altogether from gentleneſs to the higheſt pitch of tyranny, ſo that he now puniſhed with cruelty the perſons who had years before knowingly, or otherwiſe, given him the ſlighteſt cauſes of offence. I, who had differed with him in opinions during the life of Bedar Bukht, and frequently warned the late emperor againſt his aſpiring views, had alſo been the friend and confidant of his mortal enemy the khankhanan, and of a different party in the late ſtruggle, had not a hope of eſcaping from his hands, or thoſe of Jehaundar Shaw, who had commanded me to be ſearched for, and put to death. Thinking it in vain to attempt concealment in Lahore, I had written the following verſes, and ſent them to him by my grandſon, Meer Einaiut Oolla, who was much in his favour.

"My anceſtors were attached to [2] Ali without views of gain. I
"am of the family of Ali; thou art the [3] Zoolfeccar of [4] Hyder.
"Remember, I have no chief but thee. I repent of my faults in
"ſome degree, and am come aſhamed to thy tribunal. Though I
"am meaner than words can expreſs, yet I am of the [5] family of
"which thou art head. Thou art now the guardian of our ho-
"nour: look not at me, but upon our mutual anceſtors."

[1] The celebrated Monauim Khan.
[2] The ſon-in-law of Mohammud. Here it means Azeem al Shaw n.
[3] A two-bladed ſword of Ali's.
[4] A title given to Ali.
[5] A ſyed, or deſcendant from the prophet's daughter Fatima, by Ali.

At first he did not trouble himself to open the paper, upon which I sent a second time, when he perused it with attention, and desired the messenger to call me to him; but I did not comply with his invitation, to which I answered, that he had prevailed with promises of safety on many to visit him, and afterwards confined or put them to death; that if such was his design towards me, there was no occasion to use art, as I would of my own accord put on my shroud, and come prepared for the worst before him. To this he answered, by solemn oaths, that he meant no injury towards me; so that I was satisfied, and went to visit him without dread. He received me in his private apartment, to which I was admitted armed, as usual, and he rose from his musnud to salute me, behaving every way with much kindness, and more than I expected; after which he dismissed me, with assurances of protection. He the same day asked the emperor's pardon for me, which was immediately passed; but his majesty observed, that though he forgave, he would not on any account employ me in his service. The ameer al amra too made me promise, that I would not accept of any office in the state, otherwise than through his patronage. I complied with his desire without regret, as, independent of the obligations I owed to him, there was no temptation left to court employment in a state which had in fact no head; for the ministry was a collection of petty tyrants, and abusers of power.

During the nine months in which Jehaundar Shaw, like an embryo, lay in the womb of empire, I did not attempt to procure an office, but lived in perfect retirement, except that I now and then unavoidably paid a visit to the ameer al amra, who would frequently ask my advice in public affairs, which I gave him to the extent of my understanding.

In the height of this power and authority, (while the claim of *I am, and no one else*, was gaining strength,) all at once a report was heard

heard that the prince Ferokhſere, ſon to the martyred Azeem Ooſhawn, had marched from Bengal towards Bahar, intending to revenge his father's death, and ſeize the throne. Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra, though they feigned to diſbelieve the intelligence, and deſpiſe the attempt, yet in their hearts were ſtruck with dread. Great numbers of the Imperial ſervants wiſhed ſecretly for the ſucceſs of the rebellion. While the ameer al amra was fortunate, he ſaw affairs in a proper light: while at Lahore, he had repeatedly adviſed Jehaundar Shaw not to remain more than a week in Dhely, but to proceed to Agra, and, if neceſſary, to the eaſtern provinces, as the dread of his power would not be impreſſed fully in the breaſts of his ſubjects, while Ferokhſere refuſed to pay allegiance. Jehaundar Shaw, on his arrival at Dhely, faſcinated by the various luxuries it afforded, forgot the advice of his miniſter, and choſe to remain, indulging himſelf in low pleaſures, moving only from palace to palace, and garden to garden. Kokultaſh Khan and his party perſuaded him that the ameer al amra had excited this rebellion, and engaged privately with Ferokhſere, to whom he would deliver his majeſty a priſoner, ſhould he prevail on him to march from the capital. Theſe ideas ſerved to increaſe the fears of the weak Jehaundar Shaw. He would often exclaim, "I did not "kill Azeem Ooſhawn: it was the ameer al amra, who muſt now "go and anſwer the claims of his ſon, for ſatisfaction. What "have I to do with the buſineſs?" The other plans of an emperor, who was thus overcome by fear, may eaſily be gueſſed, and need no explanation. The ameer al amra, offended at the diſtruſts of his maſter, did not attend as he ought to buſineſs, but employed his time alſo in pleaſure, and forwarding his own immediate intereſt.

Syed Abdoolla Khan Bareah, and his brother Houſſein Ali Khan, had gained great honour by their behaviour in the ſervice of Azim

Shaw,

Shaw, after whoſe death they had attached themſelves to Azeem Ooſhawn, by whom they were honoured, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter of the province of Bahar. During the late conteſts for the empire, they had, for their own ſafety and that of the country, expended, without orders, conſiderable ſums of the Imperial revenues in the maintenance of extraordinary troops, which had offended Jehaundar Shaw. On his acceſſion to the throne, he appointed Rajee Khan Maneckporee to the government of Allahabad, who ſent one of his relations, with a conſiderable force, to take poſſeſſion; but he was oppoſed, defeated, and driven back by Abdoolla Khan. Ferokhſere's rebellion juſt then ariſing, the ameer al amra thought it adviſable to diſpatch an Imperial firmaun, approving Abdoolla Khan's conduct, and confirming him in his government, diſclaiming alſo any aſſent to the attempts to remove him. Abdoolla Khan pretended gratitude and obedience for the royal favours, in order to avoid farther trouble from the court, but which he had reſolved to ſerve no longer than he found neceſſary. When Ferokhſere arrived in Bahar, he was immediately joined by Syed Houſſein Ali Khan, who was faithfully attached to him, as the ſon of his patron Azeem Ooſhawn. The court of Dhely weakly imagined, that Abdoolla Khan would ſtop the progreſs of the prince at Allahabad. Firmauns of encouragement, and great promiſes, were diſpatched to purchaſe his loyalty, inſtead of armies to ſecure it. While the rebellion was daily gathering force, the emperor's miniſters, divided againſt each other, were undetermined how to act. Kokultaſh Khan refuſed to take the command of an army, if the ameer al amra remained at Dhely, pretending that the emperor was not ſafe in his hands; and the latter did not think it proper to quit the court, where, in his abſence, ſuch a dangerous rival muſt poſſeſs the whole power. Jehaundar Shaw did not dare to think, much leſs to fix, whom he ſhould entruſt with the command of the army; for ſo great was his

war, was much alarmed at the dangers of his new profeſſion. He thought he ſhould do the ſtate moſt ſervice by ſaving the prince from (as he conceived) inevitable deſtruction. Accordingly, unknown to his officers, about midnight he fled with him in a woman's covered pallekee, ſtopping not till he arrived at Agra, from whence he diſpatched to court accounts of his gallant ſervice, and zealous care of the heir-apparent. The officers of his army, in the morning, finding their chief had fled, laid aſide all thoughts of reſiſtance, and each provided for his own ſafety. Moſt went over to the ſervice of Ferokhſere, and the remainder returned precipitately towards Agra. Syed Abdoolla Khan would not allow them to be purſued, and, what has often perplexed my underſtanding to account for, adviſed Ferokhſere to halt ſome time in the camp of the fugitives, inſtead of following his ſucceſs with rapidity. The news of the defeat reaching Dhely, threw the court into ſuch confuſion, that no other plan was at firſt reſolved on, than to wait the enemy's approach in the vicinity of the city, and hazard all in one engagement, as it was expected time would not allow of more diſtant operations. Accordingly, Rajee Khan was ordered with the Imperial artillery to [1] Feridabad, where ground was choſen for the general camp, and preparations made for the emperor's march.

As ſoon as it became known that Ferokhſere had not advanced beyond the field of battle, Jehaundar Shaw altered his reſolution of remaining at Dhely, and began his march towards Agra. On his arrival there, the ameer al amira opened the royal treaſures, which had been for ages laid up, diſpoſing of money, jewels, plate, and valuable effects, to the amount of two corores of rupees, among the troops, who now were ſeventy thouſand horſe, and foot without number. Moſt of them too were veteran ſoldiers, but little affected

[1] About three coſs from the city.

to

to the royal cause, as they had experienced slights in the days of peace, and knew this profuse bounty to proceed only from the necessity of the times. The Imperial army encamped at first near the gardens of Dehera; but, upon intelligence arriving that Ferokhsere had advanced to Eatimadpore, near the river, intending to cross, it was thought advisable to move along the opposite bank to prevent him. Both armies remained a week thus, in sight of each other; and people of judgment decided, in their own minds, that victory would be to that prince who should first cross and attack his rival.

On the night of the 13th of Zeekaud, intelligence was received that the Syeds had, by a countermarch of twenty miles, gained the ford of Gaow Ghaut, and crossed the river with their advanced corps and all the artillery; also that Ferokhsere, with his whole army, intended to follow the next day. I was present when this news was brought to the ameer al amra, who, on hearing it, was visibly affected and alarmed, as were all the nobility then present in his train. Orders of march were issued for the next morning, to meet the enemy, whose camp was, by the late manœuvre, remo[illegible] ten coss distant. Jehaundar Shaw moved accordingly, but h[illegible] before he had sight of the enemy, encamping on the broken gro[illegible] and hollow ways on the banks of the Jumna. This disp[illegible] troops, who judged that their generals had chosen a stra[illegible] more from fear of a sudden attack, than proper cautio[illegible] ment of the ground. The next morning, however [illegible] army continued the march to Secundra, and the [illegible] Ghaut, where the enemy's troops were still crossing [illegible] had not as yet come to this side. The ameer [illegible] number of nobility, advanced in front to recon[illegible] the enemy, as did also the emperor, when he [illegible] army. The Syeds, notwithstanding their [illegible]

to receive them, but the ameer al amra chose to defer taking advantage of his present situation, as it was now late in the afternoon, and the fall of night, during an action, would create much confusion and disorder. With this idea, he chose to encamp on the banks of a rivulet which ran between him and the enemy.

Early in the morning of the next day, which began with heavy clouds and rain, I went to visit the ameer al amra, who was just come from the emperor's tents, and preparing to take some refreshment; upon which, I asked my dismission, and returned to my own tents, intending to sleep. By this time the clouds had dispersed, and the sun shone very bright. A little after mid-day, I was alarmed by the drums beating to arms, and a confused noise, when running to my door, I saw the ameer al amra mounting his elephant with great haste, and undressed; upon which I got ready my attendants, about forty persons, and followed him with all possible speed. Upon my arrival, he was standing upon elevated ground, looking round him. I asked what had caused the alarm, when he replied, that the enemy were drawing out their line, seemingly with intentions to cannonade. Our troops now hastened to form, the ameer al amra in front, and upon his right Kokultash Khan. In the center stood the emperor, Jehaundar Shaw, attended by Rajee Khan, with the royal artillery. To the left were the troops of Mortuzza Khan Bukshi, and many other amras. The enemy's army advanced slowly till within reach of cannon-shot, when they played upon us with their artillery and rockets, which were answered with great fury by Rajee Khan. Every one knows that, after an engagement is once begun, it is impossible for a single person to see more of the operations than those on the immediate spot of his own post; how then can I say, I distinctly viewed every change of two lines covering ground of miles in extent? An author once read to Aurungzebe a long account of one

 of

of his battles with Dara Shekkoh The emperor observed at the conclusion, that he must certainly have been upon a high mountain during the engagement, which he had seen so minutely, as he himself, though commanding the line, and mounted on an elephant, did not perceive one-third of the particulars he had described. In short, I shall only relate what I saw. After a cannonade of some time, I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge ours, one with a red, and the other with a green standard The former was the corps of Raja Jubbeeleh Ram, and the latter of Syed Houssein Ali Khan Observing that our right flank was much exposed, I remarked it to the ameer al amra, who immediately dispatched orders for Abdul Summud Khan to move with the mistress's troops to that quarter. The first body of the enemy charged directly on Kokultash Khan, and the other pushing through the line of our artillery, which was deserted as it approached, attacked the center, in which was Jehaundar Shaw Our troops fell back upon the camp, and great confusion took place, as the men, elephants and horses, became entangled among the ropes of tents, carriages and baggage. Numbers fled, but the ameer al amra remained firm, and the enemy was kept long at a stand by his gallantry and steadiness, but he was ill-supported, though Syed Houssein Ali Khan fell wounded in the field, and Jubbeeleh Ram was not more successful in his charge on Kokultash Khan It was now about five o'clock, when affairs were thus doubtful, but just then Syed Abdoolla Khan, with a great body, charged Jehaundar Shaw, who stood with his troops, already alarmed, some distance in the rear of the ameer al amra They scarce waited to be attacked, but broke their line, and fled in confusion on all sides, while the women's elephants, those of the jewel office and treasury, ran here and there, carrying disorder along with them. Jehaundar Shaw hastily joined the corps of Kokultash Khan, and was pursued by the enemy, who thus forced him between two fires, Ferokhsere

having

having now come to the aſſiſtance of Jubbeeleh Ram, who had renewed the attack in front. Kokultaſh Khan was killed after a ſhort ſtruggle, his troops diſperſed, and Jehaundar Shaw diſappeared from his elephant. This made the rout general, and only the ameer al amra kept his ground. When he could hear no tidings of the emperor, and it became dark, he retired ſlowly to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, diſpatching meſſengers on all ſides in ſearch of his ſovereign, with the hopes, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and making one more effort the next day; but all in vain. Jehaundar Shaw could not be found; upon which he thought proper to provide for his own ſafety, and marched away towards Dhely. Thus, in the ſpace of a few hours, was this government deſtroyed, and another poſſeſſed of abſolute authority. The robe of empire graced the auguſt perſon of Ferekhſere, who ſounded the joyful march of triumph.

Though I was not in the ſervice of any one, and had no enmity to either party, yet I remained in the field till the ameer al amra had retired, when thinking it beſt to provide for my own ſafety, I entered the city with about a hundred perſons who ſought my protection, and retired to one of my own gardens, where I enjoyed perfect repoſe from my fatigues. In the morning, I wrote to Syed Abdoolla Khan, with whom I was formerly on terms of friendſhip, expreſſing my deſire of leave to viſit him, and be introduced to the new emperor. He replied to my letter with much kindneſs, and I paid my compliments to him as he paſſed by my dwelling the following day, when he carried me with him to his own houſe. The emperor Ferokhſere entered the city the next morning, to pray in public at the tomb of Akber, on his return from whence I was allowed to pay him my reſpects. Syed Abdoolla Khan marched towards Dhely the day after, and choſe to take me with him, which I did not think proper to decline. As yet, it was not certainly

tainly known to what quarter Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra had fled. Affud ad Dowlah, father to the latter, was in the command of Dhely, and had in his power the confined princes. It was apprehended that the ameer al amra would retreat to Dekkan with his mafter, but he not finding that prince, thought proper to go to Dhely. Jehaundar Shaw, who had fhaved his beard and whifkers to prevent being known, arrived a fhort time before the ameer al amra, at the palace of Affud ad Dowlah. This was foon known throughout the city; upon which the friends to the family of Azeem Oofhawn furrounded the houfe, and demanded the delivery of the royal fugitive into their charge. Affud ad Dowlah was obliged to confine him, to fupprefs their clamours. Making a virtue of neceffity, he wrote a petition to Ferokhfere, implying, that he had imprifoned Jehaundar in his own houfe, and waited the Imperial orders concerning his difpofal. In return, firmauns were difpatched applauding his conduct, forgiving all paft offences, and continuing him in the vizarut, with Syed Abdoollah Khan as his deputy, to whofe care Jehaundar Shaw was for the prefent to be entrufted. All thefe gracious affurances fatisfied Affud ad Dowlah, and had fuch an effect on the ameer al amra, his fon, that he thought it beft to remain at Dhely, and wait the emperor's mercy, which he hoped would fpare his forfeited life and fortune.

When Ferokhfere arrived near Dhely, he commanded Affud ad Dowlah and his fon to be brought into his prefence. They were both received with the honours due to their high rank; after which, the former was allowed to return in fafety to his own houfe, but the latter was led to a private tent, and, after a few queftions had been afked him, he was ftrangled, as a punifhment for his crimes, and an example to others. His body was afterwards tied with the head downwards on an elephant, together with that of Jehaundar Shaw, who had been put to death in prifon, and expofed in the

new emperor's train, when he made his triumphant entry to the palace; after which, both bodies were thrown into the ſtreet, before the great moſque, and remained ſome days a ſpectacle to the mob. The eſtates of the father and ſon were confiſcated, and their family, which had filled for above two hundred years the higheſt offices of the ſtate, was thus in an inſtant levelled with the duſt, and, like that of [1] Bermekee, totally ruined. Some other traitors were alſo puniſhed with death, which impreſſed the ſubject with reſpect for government, and proved that however, for a time, treaſons might be attended with ſucceſs, at length the proſperity of the houſe of Timur would be prevalent over all oppoſition.

Such is the firſt beaming of the heaven-given fortune of his majeſty, which, by divine bleſſing, is aſcending to the zenith of glory and renown. Praiſe be to God, by whoſe favour the concluſion of my book is auſpicious! and mercy upon the choſen of mankind, Mahummud, his deſcendants, his friends and followers, for evermore! Amen.

[1] Known in Europe by the name of Barmecides, as mentioned in the life of Haroon al Raſheed, in the Hiſtory of the Caliphs.

FINIS.